Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ.

THE POURTRAICTURE OF HIS SACRED MAJESTIE IN HIS SOLITUDES AND SUFFERINGS.

Rom. 8.
More then Conquerors, &c.

Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.

Reprinted
In R.M. *for* James Young, 1648.

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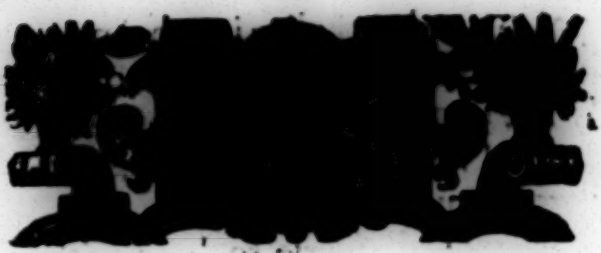

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

1. *Upon His Majestie's calling this last Parliament.*

THis last Parliament I called, not more by other's advice, and neceſſitie of My affairs, then by My own choice and inclination, who have alwaies thought the right waie of Parliaments moſt ſafe for My Crown, as beſt pleaſing to My People: And although I was not forgetful of thoſe ſparks, which ſom men's diſtempers formerly ſtudied to kindle in Parliaments, (which, by forbearing to convene for ſom years, I hoped to have extinguiſhed) yet, reſolving with My ſelf to give all juſt ſatisfaction to modeſt and ſober deſires, and to redreſs all publick grievances in Church and State, I hoped (by My freedom and their Moderation) to prevent all miſunderſtandings and miſcarriages in this: In which as I feared affairs would meet with

som passion and prejudice in other men; so I resolved they should finde least of them in in My self; not doubting, but by the weight of Reason I should counterpoiz the over-balancings of anie Factions.

I was, indeed, sorrie to hear with what partialitie and popular heat Elections were carried in manie places; yet, hopeing that the gravitie and discretion of other Gentlemen would allaie and fix the Commons to a due temperament (guideing som men's wel-meaning zeal by such Rules of Moderation as are best both to preserv and restore the health of all States and Kingdoms) No man was better pleased with the convening of this Parliament, then My self; who knowing best the largeness of My own Heart toward My People's good, and just contentment, pleased My self most in that good and firm understanding which would hence grow between Mee and My People.

All jealousies beeing laid aside, My own and My Children's Interests gave Mee manie obligations to seek and preserv the love and and welfare of My Subjects; the onely temporal blessing that is left to the ambition of just Monarchs, as their greatest honor and safetie, next God's protection. I cared not to lessen My self in som things of My wonted Prerogative, since I knew I could bee no loser,

ſer, if I might gain but a recompence in My Subject's affections.

I intended not onely to oblige My friends, but Mine enemies alſo; exceeding even the deſires of thoſe that were factiouſly diſcontented, if they did but pretend to anie modeſt and ſober ſenſ.

The *odium* and offences which ſom men's rigor or remiſneſs in Church and State had contracted upon My Government, I reſolved to have expiated by ſuch Laws and regulations for the future, as might not onely rectifie what was amiſs in practice; but ſupplie what was defective in the conſtitution: No man haveing a greater zeal to ſee Religion ſettled, and preſerved in Truth, Unitie, and Order then My ſelf; whom it moſt concern's both in Pietie, and Policie, as knowing, that, No flames of civil diſſentions are more dangerous then thoſe which makes religious pretenſions the grounds of Factions.

I reſolved to reform what I ſhould by free and full advice in Parliament bee convinced to bee amiſs; and to grant whatever My Reaſon and Conſcience told Mee was fit to bee deſired; I wiſh I had kept My ſelf within thoſe bounds, and not ſuffered My own Judgment to have been over-born in ſom things, more by other's Importunities, then their Arguments; My confidence had leſs

betrayed

betraied My ſelf and My Kingdoms to thoſe advantages, which ſom men ſought for, who wanted nothing but power and occaſion to do miſchief.

But our ſins bering ripe, there was no preventing of God's Juſtice from reaping that glorie in our Calamities, which wee robb'd him of in our Proſperitie.

For thou (O Lord) haſt made us ſee, that Reſolutions of future Reforming do not always ſatisfie thy Juſtice, nor prevent thy Vengeance for former miſcarriages.

Our ſins have overlaid our hopes; Thou haſt taught us to depend on thy mercies to forgive, not on our purpoſe to amend.

When thou haſt vindicated thy glorie by thy Judgments, and haſt ſhewed us how unſafe it is to offend thee, upon preſumptious afterwards to pleaſe thee; Then I truſt thy mercies will reſtore thoſe bleſſings to us, which wee have ſo much abuſed, as to force thee to deprive us of them.

For want of timelie repentance of our ſins, thou giveſt us cauſe to repent of thoſe Remedies wee too late apply.

Yet I do not Repent of My calling this laſt Parliament; becauſe, O Lord, I did it, with an upright intention to Thy glorie and My People's good.

The Miſeries which have enſued upon Mee and My Kingdoms are the juſt effects of thy diſpleaſure

ſure upon us; and may bee yet (through thy Mercie) preparatives of us to future bleſsings, and better hearts to enjoie them.

O Lord, though thou haſt deprived us of manie former comforts, yet grant Mee and My People the benefit of our afflictions, and thy chaſtiſements; that thy rod, as well as thy ſtaff, may comfort us: then ſhall wee dare to account them the ſtroaks not of an Enemie, but a Father, when thou giveſt us thoſe humble affections, that meaſure of patience in repentance, which becom's thy Children. I ſhall have no cauſe to repent the miſeries this Parliament hath occaſioned, when by them thou haſt brought Mee and My People unfeignedly to repent of the ſins wee have committed.

Thy Grace is infinitely better with our ſufferings, then our Peace could bee with our ſins.

O thou Soverain Goodneſs and Wiſdom, who over-ruleſt all our Counſels, over-rule alſo all our hearts, that the worſt things wee ſuffer by thy Juſtice, the better wee may bee by thy Mercie.

As our ſins have turned our Antidotes into Poiſon; ſo let thy Grace turn our Poiſon into Antidotes.

As the ſins of our Peace diſpoſed us to this unhappie War; ſo let this War prepare us for thy bleſſed Peace.

That although I have but troubleſom Kingdoms here, yet I may attain to that Kingdom of Peace in My Heart, and in thy Heaven, which Chriſt hath purchaſed; and thou wilt give to thy Servant

(though

(though a Sinner) for My Savior's ſake, Amen.

2: *Upon the Earl of* Strafford's *Death.*

I Looked upon My Lord of *Strafford*, as a Gentleman, whoſe great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, then aſhamed to emploie him in the greateſt affairs of State.

For thoſe were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakeings; and this was like enough to betraie him to great errors, and manie enemies: Whereof hee could not but contract good ſtore, while mooving in ſo high a ſpheer, and with ſo vigorous a luſtre, hee muſt need's (as the Sun) raiſ manie envious exhalations, which condenſed by a popular *odium*, were capable to caſt a cloud upon the brighteſt merit and integritie.

Though I cannot in My judgment approov all hee did, driv'n (it may bee) by the neceſſities of Times, and the temper of that People, more then led by his own diſpoſition to anie height and rigor of actions: yet I could never bee convinced of anie ſuch criminouſneſs in him, as willingly to expoſe his life to the ſtroke of Juſtice, and malice of his Enemies.

I never met with a more unhappie conjuncture of affairs, then in the buſineſs of that unfortunate

unfortunate Earl: when, between My own unſatisfiedneſs in Conſcience, and a neceſſitie (as ſom told Mee) of ſatisfying the importunities of ſom people, I was perſwaded by thoſe, that I think wiſhed Mee well, to chuſe rather what was *ſafe*, then what ſeemed *juſt*; preferring the outward peace of My Kingdoms with men, before that inward exactneſs of Conſcience with God.

And indeed I am ſo far from excuſeing or denying that compliance on My part (for plenarie conſent it was not) to his deſtruction, whom in My Judgment I thought not, by anie clear Law, guiltie of death: That I never bare any touch of Conſcience with greater regreet: which as a ſign of my repentance, I have often with ſorrow confeſſed both to God and men, as an act of ſo ſinful frailtie, that it diſcovered more a fear of Man, then of God; whoſe name and place on Earth no man is worthie to bear, who will avoid inconveniences of State, by acts of ſo high injuſtice, as no publick convenience can expiate or compenſate.

I ſee it a bad exchange to wound a man's own conſcience, thereby to ſalv State-ſores; to calm the ſtorms of popular diſcontents, by ſtirring up a tempeſt in a man's own boſom.

Nor hath God's Juſtice failed in the event and ſad conſequences, to ſhew the world the fallacie

fallacie of that Maxim, *Better one man periſh (though unjuſtly) then the people bee diſpleaſed, or deſtroied.*

In all likelihood I could never have ſuffered, with My People, greater calamities, (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated *Straſford's* innocencie, at leaſt by denying to Sign that deſtructive *Bill*, according to that Juſtice, which My Conſcience ſuggeſted to Mee, then I have don ſince I gratified ſom men's unthankful importunities with ſo cruel a favor. And I have obſerved, that thoſe, who counſelled Mee to ſign that *Bill*, have been ſo far from receiving the rewards of ſuch ingratiateings with the People, that no men have been haraſſed and cruſhed more then they. Hee onely hath been leaſt vexed by them, who counſelled Mee not to conſent againſt the Vote of My own Conſcience: I hope God hath forgiv'n Mee and them the ſinful raſhneſs of that buſineſs.

To which, beeing in My ſoul ſo fully conſcious, thoſe Judgments God hath pleaſed to ſend upon Mee, are ſo much the more welcom, as a means (I hope) which his mercie hath ſanctified ſo to Mee, as to make Mee repent of that unjuſt Act, (for ſo it was to Mee) and for the future to teach Mee, That the *beſt rule* of *Policie* is to prefer the doing of Juſtice, before all Enjoiments; and the Peace of

My

My Conſcience before the preſervation of My Kingdoms.

Nor hath anie thing more fortified My reſolutions againſt all thoſe violent importunities, which ſince have ſought to gain alike conſent from Mee, to Acts, wherein My Conſcience is unſatisfied, then the ſharp touches I have had for what paſſed Mee, in My Lord of *Strafford's* Buſineſs.

Not that I reſolved to have emploied him in My affairs, againſt the advice of My Parliament; but I would not have had anie hand in his death, of whoſe guiltleſneſs I was better aſſured, then anie man living could bee.

Nor were the Crimes objected againſt him ſo clear, as after a long and fair Hearing, to give convincing ſatisfaction to the Major part of both Houſes, eſpecially that of the Lords, of whom ſcarce a third part were preſent, when the *Bill* paſſed that Houſe. And for the Houſe of Commons, manie Gentlemen, diſpoſed enough to diminiſh My Lord of *Strafford's* greatneſs and power, yet unſatisfied of his guilt in Law, durſt not condemn him to die: who for their integritie in their Votes, were (by poſting their Names) expoſed to the popular calumnie, hatred, and furie, which grew then ſo exorbitant in their clamors for *Juſtice*, (that is, to have both My ſelf and the two Houſes Vote, and do as they would

would have us) that manie ('tis thought) were rather terrified to concurr with the condemning Partie, then ſatisfied, that of right they ought ſo to do.

And that after-Act vacateing the Autoritie of the precedent, for future imitation, tell's the world, that ſom remorſ touched even his moſt implacable Enemies, as knowing hee had verie hard meaſure, and ſuch as they would bee verie loth ſhould bee repeated to themſelvs.

This tenderneſs and regreet I finde in My ſoul, for haveing had anie hand (and that verie unwillingly, God know's) in ſhedding one man's blood unjuſtly, though under the color and formalitie of Juſtice, and pretences of avoiding publick miſchiefs, which may (I hope) bee ſom evidence before God and Man, to all poſteritie, that I am far from bearing juſtly that vaſt load and guilt of all that blood which hath been ſhed in this unhappie War, which ſom men will needs charge on Mee, to eaſ their own ſouls, who am, and ever ſhall bee, more afraid to take away anie man's life unjuſtly, then to loſe mine own.

But thou O God of infinite mercies, forgive Mee that act of ſinful compliance, which hath greater aggravations upon Mee then anie man, ſince I had not the leaſt temptation of envie, or malice againſt him,

him, and by My Place ſhould, at leaſt ſo far, have been a Preſerver of him, as to have denied My conſent to his deſtruction.

O Lord, I acknowledg My tranſgreſſion, and My ſin is ever before Mee.

Deliver Mee from blood-guiltineſs, O God, thou God of My ſalvation, and My tongue ſhall ſing of thy Righteouſneſs.

Againſt thee have I ſinned, and don this evil in thy ſight, for thou ſaweſt the contradiction between My Heart and My Hand.

Yet caſt Mee not away from thy Preſence, purge Mee with the blood of My Redeemer, and I ſhall bee clean; waſh Mee with that pretious effuſion, and I ſhall bee whiter then Snow.

Teach Mee to learn Righteouſneſs by thy Judgments, and to ſee My frailtie in thy Juſtice: while I was perſwaded, by ſhedding one man's blood, to prevent after-troubles; thou haſt for that, among other ſins, brought upon Mee, and upon My Kingdoms, great, long, and heavie troubles.

Make Mee to prefer Juſtice, which is thy will, before all contrarie clamors, which are but diſcoveries of man's injurious will.

It is too much that they have once overcom Mee, to pleaſ them by diſpleaſing thee: O never ſuffer Mee for anie Reaſon of State, to go againſt My Reaſon of Conſcience; which is highly to ſin againſt thee, the God of Reaſon, and Judg of our Conſciences.

Whatever, O Lord, thou see'ſt fit to deprive Mee of, yet reſtore unto Mee the joie of thy Salvation, and ever uphold Mee with thy free Spirit; who ſubject's My will to none, but the light of Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion, which ſhine's in My Soul: for thou deſireſt Truth in the inward parts, and Integritie in the outward expreſsions.

Lord hear the voice of thy Sons, and My Savior's Blood, which ſpeak's better things: O make Mee, and My People, to hear the voice of Joie and Gladneſs, that the bones, which thou haſt broken, may rejoice in thy Salvation.

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3. *Upon His Majeſtie's going to the Houſe of Commons.*

MY going to the Houſe of Commons to demand Juſtice upon the five Members, was an act which My enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exaſperations they could.

It filled indifferent men with great Jealouſies and fears; yea, and manie of My friends reſented it as a motion riſeing rather from Paſſion then from Reaſon, and not guided with ſuch diſcretion, as the toughneſs of thoſe times required.

But theſe men knew not the juſt motives and pregnant grounds, with which I thought

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My ſelf ſo furniſhed, that there needed nothing to ſuch evidence, as I could have produced againſt thoſe I charged, ſave onely a free and legal Trial, which was all I deſired.

Nor had I anie temptation of diſpleaſure, or revenge againſt thoſe men's perſons, further then I had diſcovered thoſe (as I thought) unlawfull correſpondencies they had uſed, and engagements they had made, to embroil My Kingdoms: of all which I miſſed but little to have produced writeings under ſom men's own hands, who were the chief contrivers of the following Innovations.

Providence would not have it ſo; yet I wanted not ſuch probabilities as were ſufficient to raiſ jealouſies in anie King's heart, who is not wholly ſtupid and neglective of the Publick Peace, which to preſerv by calling in Queſtion half a dozen men, in a fair and legal waie (which God know's was all My deſign) could have amounted to no worſ effect, had it ſucceeded, than either to do Mee and My Kingdoms right, in caſe they had been found guiltie; or elſ to have cleared their Innocencie, and removed My ſuſpicion: which, as they were not raiſed out of anie malice, ſo neither were they in Reaſon to bee ſmothered.

What flames of diſcontent this ſpark

though I sought by all speedie and possible means to quench it) soon kindled, all the world is witnes: The aspersion which som men cast upon that action, as if I had designed by force to assault the Hous of Commons, and invade their Priviledg, is so falf, that, as God best know's, I had no such intent: so none that attended could justly gather from anie thing I then said, or did, the least intimation of anie such thoughts.

That I went attended with som Gentlemen, as it was no unwonted thing for the Majestie and safetie of a King so to bee attended, especially in discontented times; so were My followers at that time short of My ordinarie Guard, and no waie proportionable to hazard a tumultuarie conflict. Nor were they more feared at My comming, then I was unassured of not having som affronts cast upon Mee, if I had none with Mee to preserv a reverence to Mee; for manie people had (at that time) learned to think those hard thoughts, which they have since abundantly vented against Mee, both by words and deeds.

The sum of that Busines was this:

Those men and their adherents were then looked upon, by the affrighted Vulgar, as greater protectors of their Laws and Liberties, then My self, and worthier of their protection.

protection. I leav them to God, and their own Conſciences, who, if guiltie of evil machinations, no preſent impunitie, or popular vindications of them will bee ſubterfuge ſufficient to reſcue them from thoſe exact Tribunals.

To which, in the obſtructions of Juſtice among men, wee muſt religiouſly appeal, as beeing an argument to us Chriſtians of that after-un-avoidable judgment, which ſhall rejudg, what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endevored to have prevented, if God had ſeen fit, thoſe future commotions, which I fore-ſaw, would in all likelihood follow ſom mens activitie (if not reſtrained) and ſo now hath don to the undoing of manie thouſands; the more is the pittie:

But to over-aw the freedom of the Houſes, or to weaken their juſt Autoritie by anie violent impreſſions upon them, was not at all My deſign: I thought I had ſo much Juſtice and Reaſon on My ſide, as ſhould not have needed ſo rough aſſiſtance: and I was reſolved rather to bear the repulſ with patience, then to uſe ſuch hazardous extremities.

But thou, O Lord, art My witneſs in Heaven, and in My heart: If I have purpoſed anie violence or oppreſsion againſt the Innocent: or

if there were anie such wickednes in My thoughts.

Then let the Enemie persecute My soul, and tread My life to the ground, and laie Mine Honor in the dust.

Thou that seest not as man seeth, but lookest beyond all popular appearances, searching the heart, and trying the reins, and bringing to light the hidden things of darknes, shew thy self.

Let not My afflictions bee esteemed (as with wise and godlie men they cannot bee) anie argument of of My sin, in that matter, more then their Impunitie among good men is anie sure token of their Innocencie.

But forgive them wherein they have don amiss, though they are not punished for it in this world.

Save thy Servant from the privie conspiracies, and open violence of bloodie and unreasonable men, according to the uprightwes of My heart, and the innocencie of My hands in this matter.

Plead My cause, and maintain My right, O thou that sittest in the Throne, judging rightly, that thy servant may ever rejoice in thy salvation.

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4. *Upon the Insolencie of the Tumults.*

I Never thought anie thing (except our sins) more ominously presageing all these mischiefs which have followed, then those Tumults in *London* and *Westminster*, soon after

ter the Convening of this Parliament; which were not like a ſtorm at Sea, (which yet want's not it's terror) but like an Earthquake, ſhakeing the verie foundations of all; then which, nothing in the world hath more of horror.

As it is one of the moſt convinceing Arguments that there is a God, while his power ſet's bounds to the rageing of the Sea: ſo 'tis no leſs, that hee reſtrain's the madneſs of the people. Nor doth anie thing portend more God's diſpleaſure againſt a Nation, then when hee ſuffer's the confluence and clamors of the Vulgar, to paſs all boundaries of Laws, and reverence to Autoritie.

Which thoſe Tumults did to ſo high degrees of Inſolence, that they ſpared not to invade the Honor and Freedom of the two Houſes, menaceing, reproaching, ſhakeing, yea, and aſſaulting ſom Members of both Houſes, as they fancied or diſliked them: Nor did they forbear moſt rude and unſeemlie deportments, both in contemptuous words and actions, to My ſelf and My Court.

Nor was this a ſhort fit or two of ſhakeing, as an Ague, but a quotidian Fever, alwaies encreaſing to higher inflammation, impatient of anie mitigation, reſtraint, or remiſſion.

Firſt, they muſt bee a Guard againſt thoſe fears which ſom men ſcared themſelvs and

others withall, when, indeed, nothing was more to bee feared and leſs to bee uſed by wiſe men then thoſe tumultuarie confluxes of mean and rude people, who are tauglit firſt to Petition, then to Protect, then to Dictate, at laſt to Command and Over-aw the Parliament.

All obſtructions in Parliament (that is, a freedom of differing in Votes, and debateing matters with reaſon and candor) muſt bee taken away with theſe Tumults: By theſe muſt the Houſes bee purged, and all rotten Members (as they pleaſ to count them) caſt out: By theſe the obſtinacie of men, reſolved to diſcharge their Conſciences, muſt bee ſubdued; by theſe all factious, ſeditious, and ſchiſmatical Propoſals againſt Government Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, muſt bee backed and abetted, till they prevailed.

Generally, who ever had moſt minde to bring forth confuſion and ruine upon Church and State, uſed the midwiferie of thoſe Tumults; whoſe riot and impatience was ſuch, that they would not ſtaie the ripening and and ſeaſon of Counſels, or fair production of Acts, in the order, gravitie, and deliberateneſs befitting a Parliament; but ripped up with barbarous crueltie, and forcibly cut out abortive Votes, ſuch as their Inviters and Encouragers moſt fancied.

Yea,

Yea, ſo enormous and deteſtable were their out-rages, that no ſober man could bee without an infinite ſhame and ſorrow to ſee them ſo tolerated, and connived at by ſom, countenanced, encouraged, and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want anie thing hee moſt deſired, for the Publick good, then obtain it by ſuch unlawful and irreligious means? But men's paſſions and God's directions ſeldom agree; violent deſigns and motions muſt have ſuteable engines, ſuch as too much attend their own ends, ſeldom confine themſelvs to God's means. Force muſt crowd in, what Reaſon will not lead.

Who were the chief Demagogues and Patrones of Tumults to ſend for them, to flatter and embolden them, to direct and turn their clamorous importunities, ſom men yet liveing are too conſcious to pretend ignorance: God in his due time will let theſe ſee, that thoſe were no fit means to bee uſed for attaining his ends.

But, as it is no ſtrange thing for the ſea to rage, when ſtrong windes blow upon it; ſo, neither for multitudes to becom inſolent, when they have Men of ſom reputation for parts and pietie to ſet them on.

That which made their rudeneſs moſt formidable, was, That manie Complaints bee-

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ing made, and Meſſages ſent by My ſelf and ſom of both Houſes; yet no order for redreſs could bee obtained with anie vigor and efficacie, proportionable to the malignitie of that now far-ſpread diſeaſ, and predominant miſchief.

Such was ſom men's ſtupiditie, that they feared no inconvenience: Other's petulancie, that they joied to ſee their Betters ſhamefully out-raged and abuſed, while they knew their onely ſecuritie conſiſted in vulgar flatterie: So inſenſible were they of Mine, or the two Houſes common ſafetie and Honors.

Nor could ever anie order bee obtained, impartially to examine, cenſure, and puniſh the known *Bouteſeus*, and impudent Incendiaries, who boaſted of the influence they had, and uſed to convoke thoſe Tumults, as their advantages ſerved.

Yea, ſom (who ſhould have been wiſer Stateſ-men) owned them as friends, commending their Courage, Zeal, and Induſtrie; which to ſober men could ſeem no better then that of the Devil, who *goe's about ſeeking whom hee may* deceiv, and *devour*.

I confeſs, when I found ſuch a deafneſs, that no Declaration from the Biſhops, who were firſt fouly inſolenced and aſſaulted; nor yet from other Lords and Gentlemen of Honor; nor yet from My ſelf could take place for

for the due ſuppreſſion of theſe Tumults; and ſecureing, not onely Our Freedom in Parliament, but Our verie Perſons in the ſtreets; I thought My ſelf not bound by My preſence, to provoke them to higher boldneſs and contempts: I hoped, by My with-drawing, to give time, both for the ebbing of their tumultuous furie, and other's regaining ſom degrees of modeſtie and ſober ſenſ.

Som may interpret it as an effect of Puſillanimitie for anie man for popular terrors to deſert his Publick Station. But I think it a hardineſs, beyond true valor, for a wiſe man to ſet himſelf againſt the breaking in of a Sea; which to reſiſt, at preſent, threaten's imminent danger; but to with-draw, give's it ſpace to ſpend it's furie, and gaine's a fitter time to repair the breach. Certainly, a Gallant man had rather fight, to great diſadvantages for number and place in the field, in an orderlie waie, then skuffle with an undiſciplined rabble.

Som ſuſpected and affirmed that I meditated a War, (when I went from *White-hall* onely to redeem My Perſon, and Conſcience from violence) God know's, I did not then think of a War. Nor will anie prudent man conceiv, that I would by ſo manie former, and ſom after-Acts, have ſo much weakned My ſelf, if I had purpoſed to engage in a War, which

which to decline by all means, I denied My ſelf in ſo manie particulars: 'Tis evident I had then no Armie to flie unto, for protection, or vindication.

Who can blame Mee, or anie other, for with-drawing our ſelvs from the dailie baitings of the Tumults, not knowing whether their furie and diſcontent might not flie ſo high, as to worrie and tear thoſe in pieces, whom as yet they but plaied with in their paws? God, who is My ſole Judg, is My Witneſs in Heaven, that I never had anie thoughts of going from My Houſ at *Whitehall*, if I could have had but anie reaſonable fair Quarter: I was reſolved to bear much, and did ſo, but I did not think My ſelf bound to proſtitute the Majeſtie of My Place and Perſon, the ſafetie of My Wife and Children to thoſe, who are prone to inſult moſt, when they have objects and opportunitie moſt capeable of their rudeneſs and petulancie.

But this buſineſs of the Tumults (whereof ſom have given already an account to God, others yet liveing know themſelvs deſperately guiltie) Time and the guilt of manie hath ſo ſmothered up and buried, that I think it beſt to leav it, as it is; onely, I believ the juſt Avenger of all diſorders will in time make thoſe men, and that Cittie ſee their ſin

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in the glass of their punishment. 'Tis more then an even-laie that they may one daie see themselvs punished by that waie they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in it's first Election and Constitution, sate full and free, the Members of both Houses beeing left to their freedom of Voteing, as in all reason, honor, and Religion, they should have been; I doubt not but things would have been so carried, as would have given no less content to all good men, then they wished or expected.

For, I was resolved to hear reason in all things, and to consent to it so far as I could comprehend it: but as Swine are to Gardens and orderlie Plantations; so are Tumults to Parliaments, and Plebeian concourses to publick Councils, turning all into disorders and sordid confusions.

I am prone sometimes to think, That had I called this Parliament to anie other place in *England* (as I might opportunely enough have don) the sad consequences in all likelihood, with God's blessing, might have been prevented. A Parliament would have been welcom in anie place: no place afforded such confluence of various and vitious humors, as that where it was unhappily convened. But wee must leav all to God, who order's our disorders, and magnifie's his

wisdom

moſt, when our follies and miſeries are moſt diſcovered.

But thou, O Lord, art My refuge and defence, to thee I may ſafely flie, who ruleſt the rageing of the Sea, and the madneſs of the People.

The floods, O Lord, the floods are com in upon Mee, and are readie to overwhelm Mee.

I look upon My ſins, and the ſins of My People, (which are the tumults of our Souls againſt thee O Lord) as the juſt cauſ of theſe popular inundations, which thou permitteſt to over-bear all the banks of Loyaltie, Modeſtie, Laws, Juſtice, and Religion.

But thou that gathered'ſt the waters into one place, and madeſt the drie land to appear, and after did'ſt aſſwage the flood which drowned the world, by the word of thy Power, rebuke thoſe beaſts of the People, and deliver Mee from the rudeneſs and ſtriveings of the multitude.

Reſtore, wee beſeech thee, unto us, the freedom of our Councels and Parliaments, make us unpaſſionately to ſee the light of Reaſon, and Religion, and with all order and gravitie to follow it, as it becom's Men and Chriſtians, ſo ſhall wee praiſ thy Name, who art the God of Order and Counſel.

What man cannot, or will not repreſs, thy Omnipotent Juſtice can and will.

O Lord, give them that are yet liveing, a timelie ſenſ and ſorrow for their great ſin, whom thou

knoweſt

knoweſt guiltie of raiſing, or not ſuppreſsing thoſe diſorders: Let ſhame here, and not ſuffering hereafter bee their punishment.

Set bounds to our paſsions by Reaſon, to our errors by Truth, to our ſeditions by Laws duely executed, and to our ſchiſms by Charitie, that wee may bee, as thy Jeruſalem, *a Citie at unitie in it ſelf.*

This grant, O My God, in thy good time, for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, Amen.

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5. *Upon His Majeſtie's paſsing the* Bill *for the* Triennial *Parliaments: And after ſettling this, dureing the pleaſure of the two Houſes.*

THat the world might bee fully confirmed in My purpoſes at firſt, to contribute, what in Juſtice, Reaſon, Honor, and Conſcience I could, to the Happie ſucceſs of this Parliament, (which had in Mee no other deſign but the General good of My Kingdoms) I willingly paſſed the *Bill* for *Triennial* Parliaments: which, as gentle and ſeaſonable Phyſick, might (if well applied) prevent anie diſtempers from getting anie head of prevailing, eſpecially, if the remedie prooved not a diſeaſ beyond all remedie.

I conceived, this Parliament would finde work

work with convenient receſſes for the firſt three years; but I did not imagin that ſom men would thereby have occaſioned more work then they found to do, by undoing ſo much as they found well don to their hands. Such is ſom men's activitie, that they will needs make work, rather then want it; and chuſe to bee doing amiſs, rather then do nothing.

When that firſt Act ſeemed too ſcantie to ſatisfie ſom men's fears, and compaſs Publick Affairs; I was perſwaded to grant that *Bill* of Sitting dureing the pleaſure of the Houſes, which amounted, in ſom men's ſenſ, to as much as the perpetuateing this Parliament. By this Act of higheſt confidence, I hoped for ever to ſhut out, and lock the door upon all preſent Jealouſies and future miſtakes: I confeſs I did not thereby intend to ſhut My ſelf out of doors, as ſom men have now requited Mee.

True: it was an Act unparalell'd by anie of My Predeceſſors, yet cannot in reaſon admit of anie worſ interpretation then this, of an extream confidence I had, that My Subjects would not make ill uſe of an Act, by which I declared ſo much to truſt them, as to denie My ſelf in ſo high a point of Prerogative.

For good Subjects will never think it juſt or fit that My condition ſhould bee worſ by My

My bettering theirs: Nor indeed would it have been ſo in the events, if ſom men had known as well with moderation to uſe, as with earneſtneſs to deſire advantages of doing good or evil.

A continual Parliament (I thought) would but keep the Common-weal in tune, by preſerving Laws in their due execution and vigor, wherein My intereſt lie's more then anie man's, ſince by thoſe Laws, My Rights, as a KING, would bee preſerved no leſs then my Subject's; which is all I deſired. More then the Law giv's mee I would not have, and leſs the meaneſt Subject ſhould not.

Som (as I have heard) gave it out, that I ſoon repented mee of that ſettling ACT: and manie would needs perſwade mee, I had cauſ ſo to do: but I could not eaſily nor ſuddenly ſuſpect ſuch ingratitude in men of Honor; That the more I granted them, the leſs I ſhould have, and enjoie with them. I ſtill counted My ſelf undiminiſhed by My largeſt conceſſions, if by them I might gain and confirm the love of My People.

Of which, I do not yet deſpair, but that God will ſtill bleſs Mee with increaſ of it; when Men ſhall have more leiſure, and leſs prejudice: that ſo with unpaſſionate repreſentations they may reflect upon thoſe, (as I think) not more princelie then friendlie contri-

butions, which I granted towards the perpetuateing of their happineſs, who are now onely miſerable in this, That ſom men's ambition will not give them leav to enjoie what I intended for their good.

Nor do I doubt, but that in God's due time, the loyal and cleared affections of My people will ſtrive to return ſuch retributions of Honor and love to Mee, or My Poſteritie, as may fully compenſate both the Acts of My confidence and My ſufferings for them; which (God know's) have been neither few, nor ſmall, nor ſhort; occaſioned chiefly by a perſwaſion I had, that I could not grant too much, or diſtruſt too little to Men, that beeing profeſſedly My Subjects, pretended ſingular pietie and religious ſtrictneſs.

The injurie of all injuries is, That which ſom men will needs load Mee withall, as if I were a wilful and reſolved Occaſioner of My own and My Subject's miſeries, while (as they confidently, but (God know's) falſly divulge) I repineing at the eſtabliſhment of this Parliament, endevored by force and open hoſtilitie to undo what by My Royal aſſent I had don. Sure it had argued a verie ſhort ſight of things, and extream fatuitie of minde in Mee, ſo far to binde My own hands at their requeſt, if I had ſhortly meant to have uſed a Sword againſt them. God know's, though

though I had then a ſenſ of injuries, yet not ſuch, as to think them worth vindicateing by a War: I was not then compelled, as ſince, to injute My ſelf by their not uſeing favors, with the ſame candor wherewith they were conferred. The tumults indeed threatned to abuſe all Acts of Grace, and turn them into Wantonneſs; but I thought at length their own fears, whoſe black arts firſt raiſed up thoſe turbulent ſpirits, would force them to conjure them down again.

Nor if I had juſtly reſented anie indignities put upon Mee, or others, was I then in anie capacitie to have taken juſt revenge in an Hoſtile and Warlike waie upon thoſe, whom I knew ſo well fortified in the love of the meaner ſort of people, that I could not have giv'n My Enemies greater, and more deſired advantages againſt Mee, then, by ſo unprincelie Inconſtancie, to have aſſaulted them with Arms, thereby to ſcatter them, whom but lately I had ſolemnly ſettled by an Act of Parliament.

God know's, I longed for nothing more then that My ſelf, and My Subjects might quietly enjoie the fruits of My manie condeſcendings.

It had been a Courſ full of ſin, as well as of hazard, and diſhonor for Mee to go about the cutting up of that by the Sword, which

I had ſo lately planted, ſo much (as I thought) to My Subject's content, and Mine own too, in all probabilitie: If ſom men had not feared where no fear was, whoſe ſecuritie conſiſted in ſcareing others.

I thank God, I know ſo well the ſinceritie and uprightneſs of My own heart, in paſſing that great *Bill*, which exceeded the verie thoughts of former times, That although I may ſeem a leſs Politician to men, yet I need no ſecret diſtinctions or evaſions before God. Nor had I anie reſervations in My own Soul, when I paſſed it; nor repentings after, till I ſaw that My letting ſom men go up to the Pinnacle of the Temple, was a temptation to them to caſt Mee down head-long; concludeing, that without a Miracle, Monarchie it ſelf, together with Mee, could not but bee daſhed in pieces, by ſuch a precipitious fall as they intended. Whom God in mercie forgive, and make them ſee at length, That as manie Kingdoms as the Devil ſhewed our Saviour, and the glorie of them, (if they could bee at once enjoied by them) are not worth the gaining, by the waies of ſinful ingratitude and diſhonor, which hazard's a ſoul worth more worlds, then this hath Kingdoms.

But God hath hitherto preſerved Mee, and made Mee to ſee, That it is no ſtrange thing for men, left to their own paſſions, either to

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do much evil themſelvs, or abuſe the over-much goodneſs of others, whereof an ungrateful Surfeit is the moſt deſperate and incureable diſeaſ.

I cannot ſaie properly that I repent of that Act, ſince I have no reflexions upon it as a ſin of My will, though an error of too charitable a judgment: Onely I am ſorrie other men's vices ſhould bee evil, becauſ Mine were good.

To thee (O My God) do I ſtill appeal, whoſe All-diſcerning Juſtice ſee's through all the diſguiſes of men's pretenſions, and deceitful darkneſſes of their hearts.

Thou gaveſt Mee a heart to grant much to My Subjects; and now I need a heart fitted to ſuffer much from ſom of them.

Thy will bee don, though never ſo much to the croſſing of our's, even when Wee hope to do what might bee moſt comfortable to thine and their's too; who pretended they aimed at nothing elſ.

Let thy grace teach Mee wiſely to enjoie as well the fruſtratcings, as the fulfillings of My beſt hopes, and moſt ſpecious deſires.

I ſee while I thought to allaie other's fears, I have raiſed Mine own; and by ſettleing them, have unſettled My Self.

Thus have they requited Mee evil for good, and hatred for My good will towards them.

O Lord, bee thou My Pilot in this dark and dangerous ſtorm, which neither admit's My return to the Port whence I ſet out, nor My making anie other, with that ſafetie and honor which I deſigned.

'Tis eaſie for thee to keep Mee ſafe in the love and confidence of My People; nor is it hard for thee to preſerve Mee amidſt the unjuſt hatred and jealouſies of too manie, which thou haſt ſuffered ſo far to prevail upon Mee, as to bee able to pervert and abuſe My Acts of greateſt Indulgence to them, and aſſurance of them.

But no favors from Mee can make others more guiltie then My ſelf may bee, of miſ-uſeing thoſe manie and great ones, which thou, O Lord, haſt conferred on Mee.

I beſeech thee, give Mee and them ſuch Repentance, as thou wilt accept, and ſuch Grace as we may not abuſe.

Make Mee ſo far happie, as to make a right uſe of other's abuſes, and by their failings of Mee, to reflect, with a reforming diſpleaſure, upon My offences againſt thee.

So, although for My ſins I am by other men's ſins deprived of thy temporal bleſſings, yet I may bee happie to enjoie the comfort of thy mercies, which often raiſ the greateſt ſufferers to bee the moſt glorious Saints.

6. *Upon*

6. *Upon His Majeſtie's retirement from Weſtminſter.*

WIth what willingneſs I with-drew from *Weſtminſter* let them judg, who, unprovided of tackling and victual, are forced to Sea by a ſtorm; yet better do ſo, then venture ſplitting or ſinkeing on a Lee-ſhore.

I ſtaied at *White-hall*, till I was driv'n away by ſhame more then fear; to ſee the barbarous rudeneſs of thoſe Tumults, who reſolved they would take the boldneſs to demand anie thing, and not leav either My ſelf, or the Members of Parliament, the libertie of our Reaſon and Conſcience to denie them anie thing.

Nor was this intolerable oppreſſion My caſe alone, (though chiefly Mine) For the Lords and Commons might bee content to bee over-voted by the *major* part of their Houſes, when they had uſed each their own freedom.

Whoſe agreeing Votes were not by anie Law or reaſon concluſive to My Judgment; nor can they include, or carrie with them My conſent, whom they repreſent not in anie kinde: Nor am I further bound to agree with

the Votes of both Houſes, then I ſee them agree with the will of God, with My juſt Rights, as a King, and the general good of My People. I ſee that as manie men they are ſeldom of one minde; and I may oft ſee, that the *major* part of them are not in the right.

I had formerly declared to ſober and moderate mindes; how deſirous I was to give all juſt content, when I agreed to ſo manie Bills, which had been enough to ſecure and ſatisfie all; If ſom men's Hydropick inſatiableneſs had not learned to thirſt the more by how much the more they drank; whom no fountain of Royal bountie was able to overcom; ſo reſolved they ſeemed, either utterly to exhauſt it, or barbarouſly to obſtruct it.

Sure it ceaſe's to bee Counſel, when not Reaſon is uſed, as to men, to perſwade; but force and terror, as to beaſts, to drive and compel men to aſſent to whatever tumultuarie patrons ſhall project. Hee deſerv's to bee a ſlave without pittie or redemption, that is content to have the rational Soveraigntie of his Soul, and libertie of his Will and words ſo captivated.

Nor do I think My Kingdoms ſo conſiderable as to preſerv them with the forfeiture of that freedom; which cannot bee denied Mee as a King, becauſ it belong's to Mee as a Man,

a Man, and a Christian; owning the Dictates of none, but God, to bee above Mee, as obligeing Mee to consent. Better for Mee to die enjoying this Empire of My soul, which subject's Mee onely to God, so far as by Reason or Religion hee direct's Mee, then live with the title of a King, if it should carrie such a vassalage with it, as not to suffer Mee to use My Reason and Conscience, in what I declare as a King, to like or dislike.

So far am I from thinking the Majestie of the Crown of *England* to bee bound by anie Coronation-Oath, in a blinde and brutish formalitie, to consent to whatever it's Subjects in *Parliament* shall require, as som men will needs infer; while, denying Mee anie power of a Negative voice as King, they are not ashamed to seek to deprive Mee of the libertie of useing My Reason with a good Conscience, which themselvs, and all the Commons of *England* enjoie proportionable to their influence on the Publick; who would take it verie ill to bee urged, not to denie, whatever My self, as King, or the Hous of Peers with Mee, should not so much desire, as enjoin them to pass. I think My Oath fully discharged in that point by My Governing onely by such Laws, as My People, with the Hous of Peers, have chosen, and My self have consented to. I shall never think My self conscientiously

ſcientiouſly tied to go as oft againſt My Conſcience, as I ſhould conſent to ſuch new Propoſals, which My Reaſon, in Juſtice, Honor, and Religion, bid's Mee denie.

Yet ſo tender I ſee ſom men are of their beeing ſubject to Arbitrarie Government, (that is, the Law of another's will, to which themſelvs give no conſent) that they care not with how much diſhonor and abſurditie they make the King the onely man that muſt bee ſubject to the will of others, without haveing power left Him, to uſe His own Reaſon, either in Perſon, or by anie Repreſentation.

And if My diſſentings at anie time were (as ſom have ſuſpected, and uncharitably avowed) out of error, opinionativeneſs, weakneſs, or wilfulneſs, and what they call Obſtinacie in Mee (which not true Judgment of things, but ſom vehement prejudice or paſſion hath fixed on My minde;) yet can no man think it other then the Badg and Method of Slaverie, by ſavage rudeneſs, and importunate obtruſions of violence, to have the miſt of His Error and Paſſion diſpelled, which is a ſhadow of Reaſon, and muſt ſerv thoſe that are deſtitute of the ſubſtance. Sure that man cannot bee blameable to God or Man, who ſeriouſly endevor's to ſee the beſt reaſon of things, and faithfully follow's

follow's what hee take's for Reaſon: The uprightneſs of his intentions will excuſe the poſſible failings of his underſtanding: If a Pilot at Sea cannot ſee the Pole-ſtar, it can bee no fault in him to ſteer his courſ by ſuch ſtars as do beſt appear to him. It argue's rather thoſe men to bee conſcious of their defects of Reaſon, and convinceing Arguments, who call in the aſſiſtance of meer force to carrie on the weakneſs of their Counſels and Propoſals. I may, in the truth and uprightneſs of My heart, proteſt before God and Men, that I never wilfully oppoſed, or denied anie thing that was in a fair waie, after full and free debates propounded to Mee by the two Houſes, further then I thought, in good reaſon, I might and was bound to do.

Nor did anie thing ever pleaſ Mee more, then when My Judgment ſo concurred with theirs, that I might with good Conſcience conſent to them: yea, in manie things where not abſolute and moral neceſſitie of Reaſon, but temporarie convenience in point of Honor was to bee conſidered, I choſe rather to denie My ſelf, then them: as preferring that which they thought neceſſarie for My People's good, before what I ſaw but convenient for My ſelf.

For I can bee content to recede much from

from My own Intereſts and Perſonal Rights, of which I conceiv My ſelf to bee Maſter; but in what concern's Truth, Juſtice, the Rights of the Church, and My Crown, together with the general good of My Kingdoms; (which I am bound to preſerv as much as morally lie's in Mee) here I am, and ever ſhall bee fixt and reſolute, nor ſhall anie man gain My conſent to that, wherein My Heart give's My tongue or hand the Lie; nor will I bee brought to affirm that to Men, which in My Conſcience I denie before God. I will rather chuſe to wear a Crown of Thorns with My Saviour, then to exchange that of Gold (which is due to Mee) for one of Lead, whoſe embaſed flexibleneſs ſhall bee forced to bend and complie to the various, and oft-contrarie Dictates of anie Factions; when, in ſtead of Reaſon and Publick concernments, they obtrude nothing but what make's for the intereſt of Parties, and flow's from the partialities of Private Wils and Paſſions.

I know no reſolutions more worthie a Chriſtian King, then to prefer His Conſcience before His Kingdoms.

O My God, preſerv thy Servant in this Native, Rational, and Religious Freedom; for this I believ is thy will that wee ſhould maintain: who, though

though thou do'ſt juſtly require us to ſubmit our underſtandings and wils to thine, whoſe Wiſdom and Goodneſs can neither err, nor miſguid us, and ſo far to denie our carnal reaſons, in order to thy Sacred Myſteries and Commands, that wee ſhould believ and obeie rather then diſpute them; yet do'ſt thou expect from us, onely ſuch a reaſonable ſervice of thee, as not to do anie thing for thee, againſt our Conſciences; and as to the deſires of men, enjoineſt us to trie all things by the touch-ſtone of Reaſon and Laws which are the Rules of Civil Juſtice, and to declare our conſents to that onely which our Judgments approov.

Thou knoweſt, O Lord, how unwilling I was to deſert that place, in which thou ha'ſt ſet Mee, and whereto the affairs of My Kingdoms at preſent did call Mee.

My People can witneſs how far I have been content, for their good, to denie My ſelf in what thou ha'ſt ſubjected to My diſpoſal.

O let not the unthankful importunities and tumultuarie violence of ſom men's immoderate demands ever betraie Mee to that degenerous & unmanlie ſlaverie, which ſhould make Mee ſtrengthen them by My conſent in thoſe things which, I think in My Conſcience, to bee vgainſt thy glorie, the good of My Subjects, and the diſcharge of My own dutie in Reaſon and Juſtice.

Make Mee willing to ſuffer the greateſt indig-

nities

nities and injuries they preſs upon Mee, rather then commit the leaſt ſin againſt My Conſcience.

Let the juſt Liberties of My People bee (as well they may) preſerved in fair and equal waies, without the ſlaverie of My ſoul.

Thou that haſt inveſted Mee by thy favors in the power of a Chriſtian King, ſuffer Mee not to ſubject My Reaſon to other men's paſſions and deſigns, which to Mee ſeem unreaſonable, unjuſt, and irreligious: So ſhall I ſerv thee in the truth and uprightneſs of My heart, though I cannot ſatisfie theſe men.

Though I bee driv'n from among them, yet give Mee grace to walk alwaies uprightly before thee.

Lead Mee in the waie of Truth and Juſtice; for theſe, I know, will bring Mee at laſt to peace and happineſs with thee; though for theſe I have much trouble among men.

This I beg of thee for My Saviour's ſake.

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7. *Upon the Queen's departure and abſence out of* England.

ALthough I have much cauſ to bee troubled at My Wife's departure from Mee, and out of My Dominions; yet not her abſence ſo much, as the ſcandal of that neceſſitie,

neceſſitie, wch drive's Her away, doth afflict Mee. That Shee ſhould bee compelled by My own ſubjects, and thoſe pretending to bee Proteſtants, to withdraw for Her ſafetie: This beeing the firſt example of anie Proteſtant-Subjects, that have taken up Arms againſt their King, a Proteſtant: for I look upon this now don in *England*, as another Act of the ſame Tragedie which was lately begun in *Scotland*; the brands of that fire beeing ill quenched have kindled the like flames here. I fear ſuch motions (ſo little to the adorning of the Proteſtant profeſſion) may occaſion a farther alienation of minde, and divorce of affections in Her, from that Religion, which is the oncly thing wherein wee differ.

Which yet God can, and, I pray, hee would in time take away; and not ſuffer theſe practiſes to bee anie obſtruction to Her judgment; ſince it is the motion of thoſe men, (for the moſt part) who are yet to ſeek and ſettle their Religion for Doctrine, Government, and good manners, and ſo not to bee imputed to the true Engliſh Proteſtants; who continue firm to their former ſettled Principles and Laws.

I am ſorrie My relation to ſo deſerving a Ladie ſhould bee anie occaſion of Her danger and affliction: whoſe merits would have ſerved Her for a protection among the ſavage

vage *Indians*; while their rudeneſs and barbaritie know's not ſo perfectly to hate all Virtues, as ſom men's ſubtiltie doth; among whom I yet think few are ſo malitious as to hate Her for Her ſelf. The fault, is that Shee is My Wife.

All juſtice then as well as affection command's Mee to ſtudie Her Securitie, who is onely in danger for My ſake; I am content to bee toſſed, weather-beaten, and ſhipwrakt, ſo as Shee may bee in a ſafe Harbour.

This comfort I ſhall enjoie by Her ſafetie in the midſt of My Perſonal dangers, that I can periſh but half, if Shee bee preſerved: In whoſe memorie and hopeful Poſteritie, I may yet ſurvive the malice of My enemies, although they ſhould bee ſatiated with My blood.

I muſt leav Her, and them, to the Love and Loyaltie of My good Subjects; and to his protection, who is able to puniſh the faults of Princes, and no leſs ſeverely to revenge the injuries don to Them, by thoſe, who, in all dutie and Allegiance, ought to have made good that ſafetie, which the Laws chiefly provide for Princes.

But common civilitie is in vain expected from thoſe that diſpute their Loyaltie: Nor can it bee ſafe (for anie relation) to a King, to tarrie among them who are ſhakeing hands

with

with their Allegiance, under pretence of laying faster hold on their Religion.

'Tis pitie so noble and peaceful a Soul should see, much more suffer, the rudeness of those who must make up their want of justice, with inhumanitie and impudence.

Her sympathie with Mee in My afflictions, will make Her Vertues shine with greater lustre, as stars in the darkest nights: and assure the envious world, that Shee love's Mee, not My fortunes.

Neither of Us but can easily forgive, since Wee do not much blame the unkindeness of the Generalitie, and Vulgar; for Wee see God is pleased to trie both Our patience, by the most self-punishing sin, the ingratitude of those, who haveing eaten of Our bread, and beeing enriched with Our bountie, have Scornfully lift up themselvs against Us; and those of our own Houshold are becom Our enemies. I praie God laie not their sin to their charge: who think to satisfie all obligations to dutie, by their *Corban* of Religion: and can less indure to see, then to sin against their benefactors as well as their Sovereigns.

But even that policie of My enemies is so far venial, as it was necessarie to their designs, by scandalous Articles, and all irreverent demeanour, to seek to drive Her out of My Kingdoms: lest by the influence of Her

example, eminent for love as a Wife, and loyaltie as a Subject, shee should have converted to, or retained in their love, and Loyaltie, all those whom they had a purpose to pervert.

The less I may bee blest with her companie, the more *I* will retire to God, and My own Heart, whence no malice can banish Her. My enemies may envie, but they can never deprive Mee of the enjoiment of her virtues, while I enjoie my self.

Thou O Lord, whose Justice at present see's fit to scatter us, let thy mercie, in thy due time, reunite us on earth, if it bee thy will; however bring us both at last, to thy heavenly Kingdom.

Preserv us from the hands of our despiteful and deadlie enemies: and prepare us by our sufferings for thy presence.

Though wee differ in som things, as to Religion (which is my greatest temporal infelicitie) yet Lord give, and accept the sinceritie of our affections, which desire to seek, to finde, to embrace every Truth of thine.

Let both our Hearts agree in the love of thy self, and Christ crucified for us.

Teach us both what thou would'st have us to know, in order to thy glorie, our publick relations, and our soul's eternal good, and make us careful to to do what good wee know.

Let neither Ignorance of what is necessarie to be known

known, nor unbelief, or disobedience to what wee know, bee our miserie, or our wilful default.

Let not this great Scandal of those My Subjects, which profess the same Religion with Mee, bee anie hinderance to her love of anie Truth thou would'st have her to learn, nor anie hardning of her in anie error thou would'st have cleared to her.

Let mine, and other men's constancie bee an Antidote against the poison of their example.

Let the Truth of that Religion I profess, bee represented to her Judgment, with all the beauties of Humilitie, Loyaltie, Charitie, and Peaceablenes, which are the proper fruits and ornaments of it: Not in the odious disguises of Levitie, Schism, Heresie, Novelitie, Cruelitie, and Disloyaltie, which som men's practices have lately put upon it.

Let her see thy sacred and saveing Truthes, as Thine; that shee may believ, love and obeie them as Thine, cleared from all rust and drosse of humane mixtures.

That in the glass of thy Truth shee may see thee, in those mercies which thou hast offered to us, in thy Son Jesus Christ, our onely Saviour, and serv thee in all those Holie duties, which most agree with his holie doctrine, and most imitable example.

The experience wee have of the vanitie, and uncertaintie of all humane Glorie, and greatnes

in Our ſcatterings and Eclipſes, let it make Us both ſo much the more ambitious to bee inveſted in thoſe durable Honors, and Perfections, which are onely to bee found in thy ſelf, and obtained through Jeſus Chriſt.

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8. *Upon his Majeſtie's repulſ at* Hull, *and the fates of the* Hothams.

MY repulſ at *Hull* ſeemed at the firſt view an act of ſo rude diſloialtie, that My greateſt enemies had ſcarce confidence enough to abett, or own it: It was the firſt overt Eſſaie to bee made, how patiently I could bear the loſs of My Kingdoms.

God know's, it affected Mee more with ſhame and ſorrow for others, then with anger for My ſelf: nor did the affront don to Mee trouble Mee ſo much as their ſin, which admitted no color or excuſe.

I was reſolved how to bear this, and much more with patience: but I fore-ſaw they could hardly contain themſelvs within the compaſs of this unworthie act, who had effronterie enough to commit, or countenance it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which was ſoon after to over-ſpread the whole Kingdom, and caſt all into diſorder and darkneſs.

For

For 'tis among the wicked Maxims of bold and disloyal undertakers, That bad actions must alwaies bee seconded with worse; and rather not bee begun, then not carried on; for they think the retreat more dangerous then the assault, and hate repentance more then perseverance in a Fault.

This gave Mee to see clearly through all the pious disguises, and soft palliations of som men; whose words were somtime smoother then oil, but now I saw they would proov verie Swords.

Against which, I haveing (as yet) no defence, but that of a good Conscience, thought it My best policie (with patience) to bear what I could not remedie: And in this (I thank God) I had the better of *Hotham*, that no disdain, or emotion of passion transported Mee by the indignitie of his carriage, to do or saie anie thing unbeseeming My self, or unsuteable to that temper, which, in greatest injuries, I think, best becom's a Christian, as comming neerest to the great example of Christ.

And, indeed, I desire alwaies more to remember I am a Christian, then a King; for what the Majestie of one might justly abhor, the charitie of the other is willing to bear; what the height of a King tempteth to revenge, the humilitie of a Christian teacheth

to forgive. Keeping in compaſs all thoſe impotent paſſions, whoſe exceſs injure's a man, more then his greateſt enemies can; for theſe give their malice a full impreſſion on our ſouls, which otherwaies cannot reach verie far, nor do us much hurt.

I cannot but obſerv how God not long after ſo pleaded and avenged My cauſ, in the eie of the world, that the moſt wilfully blinde cannot avoid the diſpleaſure to ſee it, and with ſom remorſ and fear to own it as a notable ſtroak and prediction of divine vengeance.

For, Sir *John Hotham*, unreproached, unthreatned, uncurſed by anie language or ſeeret imprecation of Mine, onely blaſted with the conſcience of his own wickedneſs, and falling from one inconſtancie to another, not long after paie's his own and his eldeſt Son's heads, as forfeitures of their diſloialtie, to thoſe men, from whom ſurely hee might have expected another reward then thus to divide their heads from their bodies, whoſe hearts with them were divided from their King.

Nor is it ſtrange that they, who emploied them at firſt in ſo high a ſervice, and ſo ſucceſsful to them, ſhould not finde mercie enough to forgive Him, who had ſo much premerited of them: For Apoſtacie unto Loyaltie

altie ſom men account the moſt unpardonable ſin.

Nor did a ſolitarie vengeance ſerv the turn, the cutting off one head in a Familie is not enough to expiate the affront don to the Head of the Common-weal. The eldeſt Son muſt bee involved in the puniſhment, as hee was infected with the ſin of the Father, againſt the Father of his Countrie: Root and Branch God cut's off in one daie.

Theſe obſervations are obvious to everie fancie: God know's I was ſo far from rejoicing in *Hotham's* ruine, (though it were ſuch as was able to give the greateſt thirſt for revenge a full draught, beeing executed by them who firſt emploied him againſt Mee) that I ſo far pittied him as I thought hee at firſt acted more againſt the light of his Conſcience, then I hope other men do in the ſame Cauſ.

For hee was never thought to bee of that ſuperſtitious ſowrneſs, which ſom men pretend to, in matters of Religion; which ſo darken's their judgment that they cannot ſee anie thing of Sin and Rebellion in thoſe means they uſe with intents to reform to their Models what they call Religion, who think all is gold of pietie, which doth but gliſter with a ſhew of zeal and fervencie.

Sir *John Hotham* was (I think) a man of another

other temper, and so most liable to those down-right temptations of ambition, which have no cloak or cheat of Religion to impose upon themselvs or others.

That which make's Mee more pittie him, is, that, after hee began to have som inclinations towards a repentance for his sin, and reparation of his dutie to Mee, hee should bee so unhappie as to fall into the hands of their Justice, and not My Mercie, who could as willingly have forgiv'n him, as hee could have asked that favor of Mee.

For I think clemencie a debt, which wee ought to paie to those that crave it, when wee have caus to believ they would not after abuse it; since God himself suffer's us not to paie anie thing for his mercie but onely praiers and praises.

Poor Gentleman, hee is now becom a noteable monument of unprosperous Disloyaltie; teaching the world by so sad and unfortunate a spectacle, that the rude carriage of a Subject towards his Sovereign carrie's alwaies its own vengeance, as an unseperable shadow with it; and those oft proov the most fatal and implacable Executioners of it, who were the first Imploiers in the service.

After-times will dispute it, whether *Hotham* were more infamous at *Hull*, or at *Tower-Hill*, though

though 'tis certain that no punishment so stain's a man's Honor, as wilful perpetrations of unworthie actions; which, besides the conscience of the sin, brand's, with most indelible characters of infamie, the name and memorie to posteritie; who, not engaged in the Factions of the times, have the most impartial reflections on the actions.

But thou, O Lord, who hast in so remarkable a waie avenged thy Servant, suffer Mee not to take anie secret pleasure in it; as his death hath satisfied the injurie hee did to Mee, so let Mee not by it gratifie anie passion in Mee, lest I make thy vengeance to bee Mine, and consider the affront against Mee, more then the sin against thee.

Thou indeed, without anie desire or endevor of Mine, hast made his mischief to return on his own head, and his violent dealing to com down on his own pate.

Thou hast pleaded My Cause, even before the sons of men, and taken the matter into thine own hands; that men may know it was thy work, and see that thou, Lord, hast don it.

I do not, I dare not saie, So let Mine enemies perish, O Lord; yea, Lord, rather give them repentance, pardon, and impunitie, if it bee thy blessed will.

Let not thy Justice prevent the objects and opportunities of My Mercie; yea, let them live and a-

wend

amend who have moſt offended Mee in ſo high a nature; that I may have thoſe to forgive, who bear moſt proportion in their offences to thoſe treſpaſſes againſt thy Majeſtie, which, I hope, thy mercie hath forgiv'n Mee.

Lord laie not their ſins (who yet live) to their charge for condemnation, but to their conſciences for amendment: Let the lightning of this thunderbolt, which hath been ſo ſevere a puniſhment to one, bee a terror to all.

Diſcover to them their ſin, who know not they have don amiſs, and ſcare them from their ſin, that ſin of malitious wickedneſs.

That, preventing thy judgments by their true repentance, they may eſcape the ſtroaks of thine eternal vengeance.

And do thou, O Lord, eſtabliſh the Throne of thy ſervant in mercie and truth, meeting together; let My Crown ever flouriſh in righteouſneſs and peace, kiſſing each other.

Hear My praier, O Lord, who haſt taught us to praie for, to do good to, and to love our enemies, for thy ſake; who hath prevented us with offertures of thy love, even when wee were thine enemies; and haſt ſent thy Son Jeſus Chriſt to die for us, when wee were diſpoſed to crucifie him.

9. Upon

9. *Upon the liſting, and raiſing Armies againſt the* KING.

I Finde that I am at the ſame point and poſture I was, when they forced Mee to leav *WhiteHall*: what Tumults could not do, an Armie muſt; which is but Tumults liſted, and enrolled to a better order, but to bad an end: My receſs hath given them confidence that I may bee conquered.

And ſo I eaſily may as to anie outward ſtrength, which, God know's, is little or none at all; But I have a Soul invincible, through God's grace enabling Mee: here I am ſure to bee Conqueror, if God will give Mee ſuch a meaſure of Conſtancie, as to fear him more then man; and to love the inward peace of My Conſcience, before anie outward tranquillitie.

And muſt I bee oppoſed with force, becauſ they have not reaſon wherewith to convince Mee? O My Soul! bee of good courage; they confeſs their known weakneſs, as to truth and Juſtice, who choſe rather to contend by Armies, then by Arguments.

Is this the reward and thanks that I am to receiv for thoſe manie Acts of Grace I have lately paſſed; and for thoſe manie Indignities

ties I have endured? Is there no waie left to make Mee a glorious KING, but by My ſufferings?

It is a hard and diſputable choice for a King that love's hi. People, and deſire's their love, either to kill his own Subjects, or to bee killed by them.

Are the hazards and miſeries of Civil War, in the bowels of My moſt flouriſhing Kingdom, the fruits I muſt now reap after ſeventeen years liveing and reigning among them, with ſuch a meaſure of Juſtice, Peace, Plentie, and Religion, as all Nations about either admired or envied? Notwithſtanding ſom miſcarriages in Government, which might eſcape, rather through ill counſel of ſom men driveing on their private ends, or the peeviſhneſs of others envying the publick ſhould bee managed without them, or the hidden and inſuperable neceſſities of State, then anie propenſitie, I hope, of My ſelf, either to injuriouſneſs or oppreſſion.

Whoſe innocent blood dureing My Reign have I ſhed, to ſatisfie My luſt, anger, or covetouſneſs? What Widow's or Orphan's tears can witneſs againſt Mee, the juſt crie of which muſt now bee avenged with My own blood? For the hazards of War are equal, nor doth the Cannon know anie reſpect of Perſons.

In

In vain is My Perſon excepted by a Parentheſis of words, when ſo manie hands are armed againſt Mee with Swords.

God know's how much I have ſtudied to ſee what ground of Juſtice is alledged for this War againſt Mee; that ſo I might (by giveing juſt ſatisfaction) either prevent, or ſoon end ſo unnatural a motion, which (to manie men) ſeem's rather the production of a ſurfeit of Peace, and wantonneſs of mindes, or of private diſcontents, Ambition and Faction (which eaſily finde, or make cauſſes of quarrel) then anie real obſtruction of Publick Juſtice, or Parliamentarie Priviledg.

But this is pretended, and this I muſt bee able to avoid and anſwer before God in My own Conſcience, however ſom men are not willing to beleev Mee, leſt they ſhould condemn themſelvs.

When I firſt with-drew from *White-hall*, to ſee if I could allaie the inſolencie of the Tumults, of the not ſuppreſſing of which no account in Reaſon can bee giv'n, (where an orderlie Guard was granted but onely to oppreſs both Mine and the Two Houſes freedom of Declareing and Voteing according to everie man's Conſcience) what obſtructions of Juſtice were there further then this, that

that what seemed just to one man, might not seem so to another?

Whom did I by power protect against the Justice of *Parliament*?

That som men withdrew, who feared the partialitie of their trial, (warned by My Lord of *Strafford's* death) while the vulgar threatned to bee their Oppressors, and Judges of their Judges, was from that instinct, which is in all creatures, to preserv themselvs. If any others refused to appear, where they evidently saw the current of Justice and Freedom so stopped and troubled by the Rabble, that their lawful Judges either durst not com to the Houses, or not declare their sens with libertie and safetie, it cannot seem strange to anie reasonable man, when the sole exposing them to the publick *odium* was enough to ruine them, before their Caus could bee heard or tried.

Had not factious Tumults overborn the Freedom and Honor of the two Houses; had they asserted their Justice against them, and made the waie open for all the Members quietly to com and declare their Consciences, I know no man so dear to Mee, whom I had the least inclination to advise either to withdraw himself, or denie appearing, upon their Summons; to whose Sentence according

ding to Law (I think) everie Subject bound to ſtand.

Diſtempers (indeed) were riſen to ſo great a height, for want of timelie repreſſing the vulgar inſolencies, that the greateſt guilt of thoſe which were Voted and demanded as Delinquents was this, That they would not ſuffer themſelvs to bee over-aw'd with the Tumults and their Patrons; nor compelled to abet by their ſuffrages or preſence, the deſigns of thoſe men who agitated innovations, and ruine both in Church and State.

In this point I could not but approov their generous conſtancie and cautiouſneſs; further then this I did never allow anie man's refractorineſs againſt the Priviledges & Orders of the Houſes, to whom I wiſhed nothing more, then Safetie, Fulneſs, and Freedom.

But the truth is, ſom men, and thoſe not manie, deſpairing in fair and Parliamentarie waies, by free deliberations and Votes, to gain the concurrence of the Major part of Lords and Commons, betook themſelvs by the deſperate activitie of factious Tumults to ſift and terrifie away all thoſe Members whom they ſaw to bee of contrarie mindes to their purpoſes.

How oft was the buſineſs of the Biſhops enjoying their Antient places, and undoubted Priviledges in the Houſ of Peers, carried

for

for them by far the Major part of Lords? Yet after five repulses, contrarie to all Order and Custom, it was by tumultuarie instigations obtruded again, and by a few carried, when most of the Peers were forced to absent themselvs.

In like manner was the *Bill* against Root and Branch brought on by tumultuarie Clamors, and schismatical Terrors; which could never pass, till both Houses were sufficiently thinned and over-awed.

To which Partialitie, while in all Reason, Justice, and Religion, My conscience forbid's Mee by consenting to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament, I must now bee urged with an Armie, and constrained either to hazard My Own, and My Kingdom's ruine, by My Defence; or prostrate My Conscience to the blinde obedience of those men, whose zealous superstition think's or pretend's, they cannot do God and the Church no greater service, then utterly to destroie that Primitive, Apostolical, and anciently-Universal Government of the Church by Bishops.

Which if other men's Judgments binde them to maintain, or forbid them to consent to the aboliſhing of, Mine much more; who, besides the grounds I have in My Judgment, have also a most strict and indispensable

ſable Oath upon My Conſcience, to preſerv that Order, and the Rights of the Church; to which moſt Sacrilegious and abhorred Perjurie, moſt un-beſeeming a Chriſtian King, ſhould I ever by giving My Conſent bee betraied, I ſhould account it infinitely-greater miſerie, then anie hath, or can befal Mee; inaſmuch as the leaſt ſin hath more evil in it then the greateſt affliction. Had I gratified their Anti-Epiſcopal Faction at firſt in this point, with My Conſent, and ſacrificed the Eccleſiaſtical Government, and Revenues to the furie of their Covetouſneſs, Ambition, and Revenge, I believ they would then have found no colorable neceſſitie of raiſing an Armie to fetch in and puniſh Delinquents.

That I conſented to the *Bill* of putting the Biſhops out of the Houſ of Peers, was don with a firm perſwaſion of their contentedneſs to ſuffer a preſent diminution in their Rights, and Honor, for My ſake, and the Commonweal's; which I was confident they would readily yield unto, rather then occaſion (by the leaſt obſtruction on their part) anie dangers to Mee, or to My Kingdom. That I cannot add My Conſent to the total Extirpation of that Government (which I have often offered to all fit regulations) hath ſo much further tie upon My Conſcience, as what I think

Religious and Apoſtolical (and ſo verie Sacred and Divine) as not to bee diſpenſed with, or deſtroied; when what is onely of civil Favor, and Priviledg of Honor granted to men of that Order, may with their conſent, who are concerned in it, bee annulled.

This is the true ſtate of thoſe obſtructions pretended to bee in point of Juſtice and Autoritie of Parliament; when, I call God to witneſs, I knew none of ſuch conſequence as was worth ſpeaking of to make a War; beeing onely ſuch as Juſtice, Reaſon, and Religion had made in My Own and other men's Conſciences.

Afterwards indeed a great ſhew of Delinquents was made; which were but conſequences neceſſarily following upon Mine, or other's with-drawing from, or defence againſt violence; but thoſe could not bee the firſt occaſion of raiſing an Armie againſt Mee. Wherein I was ſo far from preventing them, (as they have declared often) that they might ſeem to have the advantage and Juſtice of the defenſive part, and load Mee with all the envie and injuries of firſt aſſaulting them, when as, God know's, I had not ſo much as anie hopes of an Armie in My thoughts. Had the Tumults been Honorably and effectually repreſſed by exemplarie Juſtice, and the Libertie of the Houſes ſo vindicated, that all

Members

Members of either Houſ might with Honor and Freedom, becomming ~~both~~ d Senate, have com'n & diſcharged their Conſciences, I had obtained all that I deſigned by My with-drawing; and had much more willingly, and ſpeedily returned then I retired; this beeing My neceſſitie driveing, the other My choice deſireing.

But ſom men knew I was like to bring the ſame judgment and conſtancie, which I carried with Mee, which would never fit their deſigns: and ſo while they invited Mee to com, and grievouſly complained of My abſence, yet they could not but bee pleaſed with it: eſpecially when they had found out that plauſible and popular pretext of raiſing an Armie to fetch in Delinquents: when all that while they never puniſhed the greateſt and moſt intolerable Delinquencie of the Tumults, and their Exciters, which drave My ſelf, and ſo manie of both Houſes from their places, by moſt barbarous indignities, which yet, in all Reaſon and Honor, they were as loth to have deſerted, as thoſe others were willing they ſhould, that ſo they might have occaſion to perſecute them with the injuries of an Armie, for not ſuffering more tamely the injuries of the Tumults.

That this is the true ſtate, and firſt drift and deſign in raiſing an Armie againſt Mee, is by

the ſequel ſo evident, that all other pretenſes vaniſh. For, when they declared by Propoſitions or Treaties, what they would have to appeaſ them, there was nothing of conſequence offered to Mee, or demanded of Mee, as anie original difference in anie point of Law, or order of Juſtice. But, among other leſſer Innovations, this chiefly was urged, The Abolition of Epiſcopal, and the Eſtabliſhment of Presbyterian Government.

All other things, at anie time propounded, were either impertinent, as to anie ground of a War, or eaſily granted by Mee, and onely to make up a number; or elſ they were meerly conſequential, and acceſſarie, after the war was by them unjuſtly begun.

I cannot hinder other men's thoughts, whom the noiſ and ſhew of pietie, and heat for Reformation and Religion, might eaſily ſo fill with prejudice, that all equalitie and clearneſs of judgment might bee obſtructed. But this was, and is, as to My beſt obſervation, the true ſtate of affairs between us, when they firſt raiſed an Armie, with this deſign, either to ſtop My mouth, or to force My conſent: and in this truth, as to My conſcience, (who was (God know's) as far from meditating a War, as I was in the eie of the world from having anie preparations for one) I finde that comfort, that in the midſt of all the unfortunate

tunate ſucceſſes of this War on My ſide, I do not think My Innocencie anie whit prejudiced or darkned; Nor am I without that Integritie, and Peace before God, as with humble confidence to addreſs My Praier to Him.

For Thou, O Lord, ſee'ſt clearly through all the cloudings of humane affairs; Thou judgeſt without prejudice: Thy Omniſcience eternally guide's thy unerrable Judgment.

O My God, the proud are riſen againſt Mee, and the aſſemblies of violent men have ſought after My ſoul, and have not ſet Thee before their eies.

Conſider My enemies, O Lord, for they are manie, and they hate Mee with a deadlie hatred without a cauſ.

For Thou knoweſt, I had no paſſion, deſign, or preparation to embroil My Kingdoms in a Civil War; whereto I had leaſt temptation; as knowing I muſt adventure more then anie, and could [illegible] *leaſt of anie by it.*

Thou, O Lord, art My witneſs, how oft I have deplored, and ſtudied to divert the neceſſitie thereof, wherein I cannot well bee thought ſo prodigally thirſtie of My Subjects blood, as to venture My own Life, which I have been oft compelled to do in this unhappie War; and which were better ſpent to ſave, then to deſtroie My People.

O Lord, I need much of thy Grace, with patience to bear the manie afflictions thou haſt ſuffered ſom men to bring upon Mee; but much more to bear the unjuſt reproaches of thoſe, who, not content that I ſuffer moſt by War, will needs perſwade the world that I have raiſed firſt, or giv'n juſt Cauſ to raiſ it.

The Confidence of ſom men's falſ Tongues is ſuch, that they would almoſt make Mee ſuſpect My own Innocencie: Yea, I could bee content (at leaſt by My ſilence) to take upon Mee ſo great a guilt before men, if by that I might allaie the malice of My Enemies, and redeem My People from this miſerable War, ſince thou, O Lord, knoweſt My Innocencie in this thing.

Thou wilt finde out bloodie and deceitful men; manie of whom have not lived out half their daies, in which they promiſed themſelvs the enjoiment of the fruits of their violence and wicked Counſels.

Save, O Lord, thy Servant, as hitherto thou haſt, and in thy due time ſcatter the People that delight in War.

Ariſe, O Lord, liſt up thy ſelf, becauſ of the rage of Mine Enemies, which increaſeth more and more. Behold them that have conceived miſchief, travelled with iniquitie, and brought forth falſhood.

Thou knoweſt the chief deſign of this War is, either to deſtroie My Perſon, or force My Judgment,

ment, and to make Mee renege My Conſcience and thy Truth.

I am driv'n to croſs David's *choice and deſire, rather to fall into the hands of men, by denying them, (though their Mercies bee cruel) then into thy hands by ſinning againſt My Conſcience, and in that againſt thee, who art a conſuming fire: Better they deſtroie Mee, then thou ſhould'ſt damn Mee.*

Bee thou ever the defens of My Soul, who wilt ſave the upright in heart.

If nothing but My blood will ſatisfie My Enemies, or quench the flames of My Kingdoms, or thy Temporal Juſtice, I am content, if it bee thy will, that it bee ſhed by Mine own Subject's hands.

But, O let the blood of Mee, though their King, yet a ſinner, bee waſhed with the blood of My Innocent and Peace-makeing Redeemer; for in that thy Juſtice will finde not onely a temporarie expiation, but an eternal-plenarie ſatisfaction; both for My ſins, and the ſins of My People: whom I beſeech thee ſtill own for thine; and, when thy wrath is appeaſed by My Death, O Remember thy great Mercies toward them, and forgive them, O My Father, for they know not what they do.

10. *Upon their ſeazing the Kings Magazines, Forts, Navie, and* Militia.

HOw untruly I am charged with the firſt raiſing of an Armie and beginning this Civil war, the eies, that onely pittie Mee, and the Loyal hearts that durſt onely praie for Mee at firſt, might witneſs, which yet appear not ſo manie on My ſide, as there were men in Arms liſted againſt Mee; My unpreparedneſs for a war may well diſ-hearten thoſe that would help Mee; while it argue's (truly) My unwillingneſs to fight; yet it teſtifie's for Mee, that I am ſet on the defenſive part; having ſo little hopes or power to offend others, that I have none to defend My ſelf, or to preſerv what is Mine own from their prereption.

No man can doubt but they prevented Mee in their purpoſes, as well as their injuries, who are ſo much before-hand in their preparations againſt Mee, and ſurprizals of My ſtrength. Such as are not for Them, yet dare not bee for Mee, ſo over-aw'd is their Loyaltie by the other's numbers and terrors. I believ My Innocencie, and unpreparedneſs to aſſert My Rights and Honor make's Mee the more guiltie in their eſteem; who would not

ſo

ſo eaſily have declared a War againſt Mee, if I had firſt aſſaulted them.

They knew My chiefeſt Arms left Me, were thoſe onely, which the Ancient Chriſtians were wont to uſe againſt their Perſecutors, Praiers and Tears. Theſe may ſerv a good man's turn, if not to Conquer as a Souldier, yet to ſuffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of Mee, and ſurprizing My Caſtles, Forts, Arms, and Navie, with the *Militia*, is ſo far beſt for Mee, That it may drive Mee from putting anie truſt in the arm of fleſh, and wholly to caſt My ſelf into the protection of the liveing God, who can ſave by few, or none, as well as by manie.

Hee that made the greedie Ravens to bee *Elias's* Caterers, and bring him food, may alſo make their ſurprizal of outward force and defenſ an opportunitie to ſhew Mee the ſpecial ſupport of his power and protection.

I thank God I reckon not now the want of the *Militia* ſo much in reference to My own protections as My People's.

Their manie and fore oppreſſions griev Mee; I am above My own; what I want in the hands of Force and Power, I have in the wings of Faith and Praier.

But this is the ſtrange method theſe men will needs take to reſolv their riddle of

Makeing

Makeing Mee a glorious King, by takeing away My Kinglie power: Thus I shall becom a support to My Friends, and a Terror to My Enemies, beeing unable to succour the one, or suppress the other.

For thus have they designed and proposed to Mee, the new modelling of Sovereigntie and Kingship, so, without anie realitie of power, or without anie necessitie of subjection and obedience; That the Majestie of the Kings of *England* might hereafter hang like *Mahomet's* Tomb, by a Magnetick Charm, between the Power and Priviledges of the two Houses, in an aierie imagination of Regalitie.

But I believ the surfeit of too much Power, which som men have greedily seazed on, and now seek wholly to devour, will, ere long, make the Common-wealth sick both of it and them, since they cannot well digest it; Sovereign Power in Subjects seldom agreeing with the Stomachs of fellow-Subjects.

Yet I have even in this point of the constant *Militia* sought, by satisfying their fears and importunities, both to secure My friends, and overcom Mine enemies; to gain the Peace of all, by depriveing My self of a sole power to help, or hurt anie: yeelding the *Militia* (which is My undoubted Right no less then the Crown) to bee disposed of as the

two

two Houſes ſhall think fit, dureing My time.

So willing am I to burie all Jealouſies in them of Mee; and to live above all Jealouſies of them, as to My ſelf; I deſire not to bee ſafer then I wiſh them and My People: If I had the ſole actual diſpoſeing of the *Militia*, I could not protect My People, further then they protected Mee, and themſelvs: ſo that the uſe of the *Militia* is mutual. I would but defend My ſelf ſo far, as to bee able to defend My good Subjects from thoſe men's violence and fraud, who, conſcious to their own evil merits and deſigns, will needs perſwade the world, that none but Wolvs are fit to bee truſted with the cuſtodie of the Shepherd and his Flock. Miſerable experience hath taught My Subjects, ſince power hath been wreſted from Mee, and emploied againſt Mee and them, that neither can bee ſafe if both bee not in ſuch a waie, as the Law hath enſted the publick ſafetie and welfare.

Yet even this Conceſſion of Mine as to the ciſe of the *Militia*, ſo vaſt and large, is not ſatisfactorie to ſom men, which ſeem to bee Enemies not to Mee onely, but to all Monarchie; and are reſolved to tranſmit to Poſteritie ſuch Jealouſies of the Crown, as they ſhould never permit it to enjoie it's juſt and neceſſarie Rights, in point of Power; to which

which (at laſt) all Law is reſolved, while thereby it is beſt protected.

But here Honor and Juſtice, due to My Succeſſors, forbid Mee to yeild to ſuch a total alienation of that power from them, which civilitie and dutie (no leſs then Juſtice and Honor) ſhould have forbad them to have asked of Mee.

For, although I can bee content to Eclipſe My own beams to ſatisfie their fears; who think they muſt needs bee ſcorched or blinded, if I ſhould ſhine in the full luſtre of Kinglie Power, wherewith God and the Laws have inveſted Mee; yet I will never conſent to put out the Sun of Sovereigntie to all Poſteritie, and ſucceeding Kings; whoſe juſt recoverie of their Rights, from unjuſt uſurpations and extortions, ſhall never bee prejudiced or obſtructed by anie Act of Mine; which indeed would not bee more injurious to ſucceeding Kings, then to My Subjects; whom I deſire to leav in a condition not wholly deſperate for the future; ſo as Law to bee ever ſubjected to thoſe m factious diſtractions, which muſt needs f low the manie-headed *Hydra* of Government: which, as it make's a ſhew to the people to have more eies to foreſee; ſo they will finde, it hath more mouths, too, which muſt bee ſatisfied: and (at beſt) it hath rather a monſtroſitie,

ſtrofitie, then anie thing of perfection, beyond that of right Monarchie: where counſel may bee in manie as the ſenſes, but the Supreme Power can bee but in One as the Head.

Happily when men have tried the horrors and malignant influence which will certainly follow My enforced darkneſs and Eclipſ, (occaſioned by the interpoſition and ſhadow of that bodie, which as the Moon receiveth it's chiefeſt light from Mee) they will at length more eſteem and welcom the reſtored glorie and bleſſing of the Sun's light.

And if at preſent I may ſeem by My receding ſo much from the uſe of My Rights in the Power of the *Militia* to com ſhort of the diſcharge of that truſt to which I am ſworn for My People's protection; I conceiv thoſe men are guiltie of the enforced perjurie, (if ſo it may ſeem) who compel Mee to take this new and ſtrange waie of diſcharging My truſt, by ſeeming to deſert it; or protecting My Subjects by expoſing My ſelf to danger or diſhonor, for their ſafetie and quiet.

Which in the Conflicts of Civil war and advantages of Power cannot bee effected but by ſom ſide yielding; to which the greateſt love of the publick Peace, and the firmeſt aſſurance of God's protection (ariſing from a good

good conſcience) doth more invite Mee, then can bee expected from other men's fears; which, ariſeing from the injuſtice of their actions (though never ſo ſucceſsful) yet dare not adventure their Autors upon anie other waie of ſafetie, then that of the Sword and *Militia*; which yet are but weak defenſes againſt the ſtroaks of divine vengeance, which will over-take; or of men's own Conſciences, which alwaies attend injurious perpetrations.

For My ſelf, I do not think that I can want anie thing which Providential Neceſſitie is pleaſed to take from Mee, in order to My People's tranquillitie, and God's glorie, whoſe protection is ſufficient for Mee; and hee is able, by his beeing with Mee, abundantly to compenſate to Mee, as hee did to *Job*, whatever honor, power, or libertie the *Chaldeans*, the *Sabeans*, or the Devil himſelf can deprive Mee of.

Although they take from Mee all defenſ of Arms and *Militia*; all refuge, by Land, of Forts, and Caſtles; all flight, by Sea, in My Ships and Navie; yea, though they ſtudie to rob Mee of the Hearts of My Subjects, the greateſt Treaſure and beſt Ammunition of a King; yet cannot they deprive Mee of My own Innocencie, or God's Mercie, nor obſtruct My waie to Heaven.

Therefore,

Therefore, O My God, to thee I flie for help; if thou wilt bee on My ſide, I ſhall have more with Mee then can bee againſt Mee.

There is none in Heaven, or in Earth, that I deſire in compariſon of thee: In the loſs of all, bee thou more then all to Mee: Make haſte to ſuccour Mee, thou that never faileſt them that put their truſt in thee.

Thou ſeeſt I have no power to oppoſe them that come againſt Mee, who are encouraged to fight under the pretence of fighting for Mee: But My eies are toward thee.

Thou needeſt no help; nor ſhall I, if I may have thine; if not to conquer, yet at leaſt to ſuffer.

If thou delightest not in My ſafetie and proſperitie, behold here I am willing to bee reduced to what thou wilt have Mee; whoſe Judgments oft begin with thine own Children.

I am content to bee nothing, that thou maiſt bee all.

Thou haſt taught Mee, That no King can bee ſaved by the multitude of an Hoſt; but yet thou canſt ſave Mee by the multitude of thy Mercies, who art the Lord of Hoſts, and the Father of Mercies.

Help Mee, O Lord, who am ſore diſtreſſed on everie ſide; yet bee thou on My ſide, and I ſhall not fear what man can do unto Mee.

I will give thy Juſtice the glorie of My Diſtreſs.

O Let thy mercie have the glorie of My deliverance from them that persecute My Soul.

By My sins have I fought against thee, and robbed thee of thy glorie, who am thy Subject, and justly maist thou by My own subjects, strip Mee of My strength, and eclipse My glorie.

But shew thy self, O My hope, and onelie refuge! Let not Mine enemies saie, There is no help for him in his God.

Hold up My goings in thy paths, that My footsteps slip not.

Keep Mee as the apple of thine eie, hide Mee under the shadow of thy wings.

Shew thy marvellous loving kindeness, O thou that savest by thy right hand them that put their trust in thee, from those that rise up against them;

From the wicked that oppress Mee, from My deadlie enemies that compass Mee about.

Shew Mee the path of life. In thy presence is fulness of joie; at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore.

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11. *Upon the 19. Propositions first sent to the* KING; *and more afterwards.*

ALthough there bee manie things, they demand; yet, if these be all, I am glad to see at what price they set My own safetie, and

and My People's peace; which I cannot think I buy at too dear a rate, if it bee onely the parting with my Conſcience and Honor. If nothing elſ will ſatisfie, I muſt chuſe rather to bee as miſerable and inglorious, as My enemies can make or wiſh Mee.

Som things here propounded to Mee, have been offered by Mee; Others are eaſily granted; the reſt (I think) ought not to bee obtruded upon Mee, with the point of the Sword; nor urged with the injuries of a War; when I have already declared that I cannot yeeld to them, without violating My Conſcience: 'tis ſtrange, there can bee no method of peace, but by making war upon My ſoul.

Here are manie things required of Mee, but I ſee nothing offer'd to Mee, by the waie of grateful exchange of Honor; or anie requital for thoſe favors, I have, or can yet grant them.

This Honor they do Mee, to put Mee on the giving part, which is more Princelie and divine. They cannot ask more then I can give, may I but reſerv to My ſelf the Incommunicable Jewel of My Conſcience; and not bee forced to part with that, whoſe loſs nothing can repair or requite.

Som things (which they are pleaſed to propound) ſeem unreaſonable to Mee, and while I have anie Maſterie of My reaſon, how can

they think I can conſent to them? Who know they are ſuch as are inconſiſtent with beeing either a King, or a good Chriſtian. My yeelding ſo much (as I have already) make's ſom men confident I will denie nothing.

The love I have of My People's peace, hath (indeed) great influence upon Mee; but the love of Truth and inward peace hath more.

Should I grant ſom things they require, I ſhould not ſo much weaken my outward ſtate of a King, as wound that inward quiet of My Conſcience; which ought to bee, is, and ever ſhall bee (by God's grace) dearer to Mee then My Kingdoms.

Som things which a King might approov, yet in Honor and Policie are at ſom time to bee denied, to ſom men, leſt hee ſhould ſeem not to dare to denie anie thing; and give too much encouragement to unreaſonable demands or importunities.

But to binde My ſelf to a general and implicite conſent, to what ever they ſhall deſire, or propound, (for ſuch is one of their Propoſitions) were ſuch a latitude of blinde obedience, as never was expected from anie Free-man; nor fit to bee required of anie man, much leſs of a King by his own Subjects: anie of whom hee may poſſibly exceed as much in wiſdom, as hee doth in place and power.

This were as if *Sampſon* ſhould have conſen-

ted

ted, not onely to binde his own hands, and cut off his own hair, but to put out his own eies, that the *Philiſtins* might with the more ſafetie mock and abuſe him; which they choſe rather to do, then quite to deſtroie him, when hee was becom ſo tame an object, and fit occaſion for their ſport and ſcorn.

Certainly, to exclude all power of denial, ſeem's an arrogancie, leaſt of all becomming thoſe who pretend to make their addreſſes in an humble and loyal waie of Petitioning; who by that ſufficiently confeſs their own inferioritie, which obligeth them to reſt, if not ſatisfied, yet quieted with ſuch an anſwer as the will and reaſon of their Superior think's fit to give; who is acknowledged to have a freedom and power of Reaſon to Conſent, or Diſſent; elſ it were verie fooliſh and abſurd to ask, what another, having not libertie to denie, neither hath power to grant.

But if this bee My Right belonging to Mee, in Reaſon, as a Man, and in Honor, as a Sovereign King, (as undoubtedly it doth) how can it bee other then extream injurie to confine My Reaſon to a neceſſitie of granting all they have a minde to ask? whoſe mindes may bee as differing from Mine both in Reaſon and Honor, as their aims may bee, and their qualities are; which laſt God and the Laws have ſufficiently diſtinguiſh't, ma-

king Mee their Sovereign, and them my Subjects: whose propositions may soon proov violent oppositions, if once they gain to bee necessarie impositions upon the Regal Autoritie. Since no man seek's to limit and confine his King, in Reason, who hath not a secret aim to share with him, or usurp upon him in Power and Dominion.

But they would have Mee trust to their moderation, and abandon mine own discretion; that so I might verifie what representations som have made of Me to the world, that I am fitter to bee their Pupil then their Prince. Truly I am not so confident of Mine own sufficiencie, as not willingly to admit the Counsel of others: But yet I am not so diffident of My self, as brutishly to submit to anie men's dictates, and at once to betraie the Sovereigntie of Reason in My Soul, and the Majestie of My own Crown to anie of My Subjects.

Least of all have I anie ground of credulitie to induce Mee fully to submit to all the desires of those men, who will not admit or do refuse and neglect to vindicate the freedom of their own and other's sitting and voting in Parliament.

Besides, all men, that know them, know this, how young States-men (the most part) of these propounders are; so that, till experience

rience of one seven years hath shewed Mee, how well they can Govern themselvs, and so much power as is wrested from Mee; I should bee verie fooliſh indeed, and unfaithful in My Truſt, to put the reins of both Reason and Government, wholly out of My own, into their hands; whose driving is already too much like *Jehu's*; and whose forwardness to ascend the Throne of Supremacie portends more of *Phaeton* then of *Phœbus*: God divert the *Omen*, if it bee his will.

They may remember, that, at best, they sit in Parliament, as My Subjects, not My Superiors; called to bee My Counsellors, not Dictators: Their Summons extend's to recommend their advice, not to command My Durie.

When I first heard of Propositions to bee sent Mee, I expected either som good Laws, which had been antiquated by the course of time, or overlai'd by the corruption of manners, had been desired to a restauration of their vigor and due execution; or som evil customs preter-legal, and abuses personal had been to be removed: or som injuries don by My self, and others, to the Common-weal, were to bee repaired; or som equable offers were to bee tendred to Mee, wherein the advantages of My Crown, beeing considered by them, might fairly induce

Mee to condeſcend, to what tended to My Subject's good, without anie great diminution of My ſelf, whom Nature, Law, Reaſon, and Religion, binde Mee (in the firſt place) to preſerv: without which 'tis impoſſible to preſerv My People according to My Place.

Or (at leaſt) I looked for ſuch moderate deſires of due Reformation of what was (indeed) amiſs in Church and State, as might ſtill preſerv the foundation and eſſentials of Government in both; not ſhake and quite overthrow either of them, without anie regard to the Laws in force, the wiſdom and pietie of former Parliaments, the antient and univerſal practice of Chriſtian Churches; the Rights and Priviledges of particular men. Nor yet anie thing offered in lieu, or in the room of what muſt bee deſtroied, which might at once reach the good end of the other's Inſtitution, and alſo ſupplie its pretended defects, reform its abuſes, and ſatisfie ſober and wiſe men; not with ſoft and ſpecious words, pretending zeal and ſpecial pietie, but with pregnant and ſolid reaſons both divine and humane, which might juſtifie the abruptneſs and neceſſitie of ſuch vaſt alterations.

But in all their Propoſitions I can obſerv little of theſe kindes, or to theſe ends: No thing

thing of anie Laws dis-jointed, which are to bee restored; of anie right invaded: of anie justice to bee un-obstructed; of anie compensations to bee made; of anie impartial Reformation to bee granted: to all, or anie of which, Reason, Religion, true Policie, or anie other humane motives might induce Mee.

But, as to the main matters propounded by them at anie time, in which is either great noveltie, or difficultie, I perceiv that what were formerly look'd upon as Factions in the State, and Schisms in the Church, and so punishable by the Laws, have now the confidence, by vulgar clamors, and assistance (chiefly) to demand not onely Tolerations of themselvs, in their vanitie, noveltie, and confusion; but also Abolition of the Laws against them; and a total extirpation of that Government, whose Rights they have a minde to invade.

This, as to the main: other Propositions are (for the most part) but as waste paper, in which those are wrapped up, to present them somwhat more handsomly.

Nor do I so much wonder at the varietie, and horrible noveltie of som Propositions (there beeing nothing so monstrous, which som fancies are not prone to long for.)

This cast's Me into, not an Admiration, but, an Extasie, how such things should have the

fortune to be propounded in the name of the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England*: among whom, I am verie confident, there was not a fourth part of the Members of either Houſ, whoſe judgments free, ſingle and apart did approov or deſire ſuch deſtructive changes in the Government of the Church.

I am perſwaded there remain's in far the Major part of both Houſes, (if free and full) ſo much Learning, Reaſon, Religion, and juſt Moderation, as to know how to ſever between the uſe and the abuſe of things; the inſtitution, and the corruption; the Government and the Miſ-government; the Primitive Pattern's and the aberrations or blottings of after-Copies.

Sure they could not all, upon ſo little or no Reaſon (as yet produced to the contrarie) ſo ſoon renounce all regard to the Laws in force, to Antiquitie, to the Pietie of their reforming Progenitors, to the Proſperitie of former times in this Church and State, under the preſent Government of the Church.

Yet, by a ſtrange fatalitie, theſe men ſuffer, either by their abſence, or ſilence, or negligence, or ſupine credulitie (believing that all is Gold, which is guilded with ſhews of Zeal and Reformation) their private diſſenting in Judgment to bee drawn into the common

ſewer

ſewer or ſtream of the preſent vogue and humor; which hath its chief riſe and abetment from thoſe popular clamors and Tumults, which ſerved to give life and ſtrength to the infinite Activitie of thoſe men, who ſtudied, with all diligence and policie, to improov to their Innovating deſigns, the preſent diſtractions.

Such Armies of Propoſitions having ſo little, in My judgment, of Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion on their ſide, as they had Tumult and Faction for their riſe, muſt not go alone, but ever bee back't and ſeconded, with Armies of Souldiers: Though the ſecond ſhould prevail againſt My Perſon; yet the firſt ſhall never overcom Mee, further then I ſee cauſ: for I look not at their Number and Power ſo much, as I weigh their Reaſon and Juſtice.

Had the two Houſes firſt ſued out their liverie, and once effectually redeemed themſelvs from the Wardſhip of the Tumults; (which can bee no other then the Hounds that attend the crie and hollow of thoſe Men, who hunt after Factions, and private Deſigns, to the ruine of Church and State.)

Did My Judgment tell Mee that the Propoſitions ſent to Mee were the Reſults of the Major part of their Votes, who exerciſe their freedom, as wel as they have a

right to ſit in Parliament, I ſhould then ſuſpect My own judgment, for not ſpeedily and fully concurring with everie one of them.

For I have charitie enough to think, there are wiſe men among them; and humilitie to think, that, as in ſom things I may want; ſo 'tis fit I ſhould uſe their adviſe, which is the end for which I called them to a Parliament. But yet I cannot allow their wiſdom ſuch a completeneſs and inerrabilitie as to exclude My ſelf; ſince none of them hath that Part to Act, that Truſt to diſcharge, nor that Eſtate and Honor to preſerv, as My ſelf; without whoſe Reaſon concurrent with their's (as the Sun's influence is neceſſarie in all nature's productions) they cannot beget, or bring forth anie one complete and autoritative Act of Publick wiſdom, which make's the Laws.

But the unreaſonableneſs of ſom Propoſitions is not more evident to Mee then this is, That they are not the joint and free deſires of thoſe in their Major number, who are of right to Sit and Vote in Parliament.

For manie of them favor verie ſtrong of that old leaven of Innovations masked under the name of Reformation; which, in My two laſt famous Predeceſſor's daies, heaved at, and ſomtimes threat'ned both Prince and Parliaments: But, I am ſure, was never wont ſo far to infect the whole maſs of the Nobi-

litie

litie and Gentrie of this Kingdom; however it diſperſed among the Vulgar: Nor was it likelie ſo ſuddenly to taint the Major part of both Houſes, as that they ſhould unanimouſly deſire, and affect ſo enormous and dangerous Innovations in Church and State, contrarie to their former education, practice, and judgment.

Not that I am ignorant, how the choiſ of manie Members was carried by much faction in the Countries; ſom thirſting after nothing more, then a paſſionate revenge of what ever diſpleaſure they had conceived againſt Mee, My Court, or the Clergie.

But all Reaſon bid's Mee impute theſe ſudden and vaſt deſires of change to thoſe few, who armed themſelvs with the manie-headed, and manie-handed Tumults.

No leſs doth Reaſon, Honor, and Safetie both of Church and State command Mee, to chew ſuch morſels, before I let them down; If the ſtraitneſs of My Conſcience will not give Mee leav to ſwallow down ſuch Camels of Sacriledg and Injuſtice both to God and man, as others do; they have no more cauſ to quarrel with Mee, then for this, that My throat is not ſo wide as their's. Yet, by God's help, I am reſolved, That nothing of Paſſion, or Peeviſhneſs, or Liſt to contradict, or Vanitie to ſhew My Negative power, ſhall

have

have anie biaſs upon My judgment, to make Mee gratifie My will, by denying anie thing, which My Reaſon and Conſcience command's Mee not.

Nor on the other ſide, will I conſent to more then Reaſon, Juſtice, Honor, and Religion perſwade Mee, to bee for God's glorie, the Churche's good, My People's welfare, and My own peace.

I will ſtudie to ſatisfie my Parliament and My People; but I will never, for fear, or flatterie, gratifie anie Faction, how potent ſoever; for this were to nouriſh the diſeaſ, and oppreſs the bodie.

Although manie men's loyaltie and prudence are terrified from giving Mee that free and faithful counſel, which they are able and willing to impart, and I may want; yet none can hinder Mee from craving of the counſel of that mightie Counſellor, who can both ſuggeſt what is beſt, and incline My heart ſtedfaſtly to follow it.

O thou firſt and eternal Reaſon, whoſe wiſdom is fortified with omnipotencie, furniſh thy Servant, firſt, with clear diſcoveries of Truth, Reaſon, and Juſtice, in My underſtanding: then ſo confirm My will and reſolution to adhere to them, that no terrors, injuries, or oppreſſions of My Enemies may ever enforce Mee againſt thoſe rules, which

thou

thou by them haſt planted in My Conſcience.

Thou never madeſt Mee a King, that I ſhould be leſs then a man; and not dare to ſaie, Yea, or Nay, as I ſee cauſ; which freedom is not denied to the meaneſt creature, that hath the uſe of Reaſon and libertie of ſpeech.

Shall that bee blameable in Mee, which is commendable veracitie and conſtancie in others?

Thou ſee'ſt, O Lord, with what partialitie and injuſtice they denie that freedom to Mee their King, which thou haſt giv'n to all Men; and which Themſelves pertinaciouſly challenge to themſelves; while they are ſo tender of the leaſt breach of their priviledges.

To Thee I make my ſupplication, who can'ſt guide us by an unerring rule, through the perplexed Labyrinths of our own thoughts, and other men's propoſals; which, I have ſom cauſ to ſuſpect, are purpoſely caſt as ſnares, that by My granting or denying them, I might bee more entangled in thoſe difficulties, wherewith they lie in wait to afflict Mee.

O Lord, make thy waie plain before Mee.

Let not My own ſinful paſſions cloud or divert thy ſacred ſuggeſtions:

Let thy glorie bee My end; thy word My rule; and then thy will be don.

I cannot pleaſ all, I care not to pleaſ ſom men; If I may bee happie to pleaſ thee, I need not fear whom I diſpleaſ.

Thou

Thou that makeſt the wiſdom of the world fooliſhneſs, and takeſt in their own devices ſuch as are wiſe in their own conceits, make Mee wiſe by thy truth, for thy honor, My Kingdom's general good, and My own ſoul's ſalvation, and I ſhall not much regard the world's opinion or diminution of Mee.

The leſs wiſdom they are willing to impute to Mee, the more they ſhall bee convinced of thy wiſdom directing Mee, while I denie nothing fit to bee granted, out of croſneſs or humor; nor grant anie thing which is to bee denied, out of anie fear or flatterie of men.

Suffer Mee not to bee guiltie or unhappie, by willing or inconſiderate advancing anie men's deſigns, which are injurious to the publick good, while I confirm them by My conſent.

Nor let Mee bee anie occaſion to hinder or defraud the publick of what is beſt, by anie moroſe or perverſ diſſentings.

Make Mee ſo humbly charitable, as to follow their advice, when it appear's to bee for publick good; of whoſe affections to Mee I have yet but few evidences to aſſure Mee.

Thou canſt as well bleſs honeſt errors, as blaſt fraudulent counſels.

Since wee muſt give an account of everie evil and idle word in private at thy Tribunal; Lord make Mee careful of thoſe ſolemn Declarations of My minde, which are like to have the greateſt influence

influence upon the Publick,) either for wo, or weal.

The leſs others conſider what they ask, make Mee the more ſolicitous what I anſwer.

Though Mine own, and My people's preſſures are grievous, and peace would bee verie pleaſing; yet, Lord, never ſuffer Mee to avoid the one, or purchaſe the other, with the leaſt expenſe or waſte of My Conſcience; whereof thou, O Lord, onely art deſervedly more Maſter then My ſelf.

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12. *Upon the Rebellion and troubles in* Ireland.

THe Commotions in *Ireland* were ſo ſudden, and ſo violent, that it was hard at firſt either to diſcern the riſe, or applie a remedie to that precipitant Rebellion.

Indeed, that ſea of blood, which hath there been cruelly and barbarouſly ſhed, is enough to drown anie man in eternal both infamie and miſerie, whom God ſhall finde the malitious Autor or Inſtigator of its effuſion.

It fell out as a moſt unhappie advantage to ſom men's malice againſt Mee; that when they had impudence enough to laie anie thing to My charge, this bloodie opportunitie ſhould bee offered them, with which I muſt bee aſſperſed: Although there was nothing which

which could bee more abhorred to Mee, bee-ing so full of sin against God, disloyaltie to My self, and destructive to My Subjects.

Som men took it verie ill nor to bee believed, when they affirmed, that what the Irish Rebels did, was don with My privitie (at least,) if not by My Commission: But these knew too well, that it is no news for som of My Subjects to fight, not onely without My Commission, but against My Command and Person too; yet all the while to pretend, they fight by My Autoritie, and for My Satetie.

I would to God the Irish had nothing to alledg for their imitation against those, whose blame must needs bee the greater, by how much Protestant-Principles are more against all Rebellion against Princes, then those of Papists. Nor will the goodnes of men's intentions excuse the scandal and contagion of their Examples.

But who ever fail of their Dutie toward Mee, I must bear the blame; this Honor My Enemies have alwaies don Mee, to think moderate injuries not proportionate to Mee, nor competent trials, either of My patience under them, or My pardon of them.

Therefore, with exquisite malice, they have mixed the gall and vinegar of falsitie and contempt, with the cup of My Affliction;

Charging

Charging Mee not onely with untruths, but ſuch, as wherein I have the greateſt ſhare of loſs and diſhonor by what is committed; whereby (in all Policie, Reaſon, and Religion, having leaſt cauſ to give the leaſt conſent, and moſt grounds of utter deteſtation) I might bee repreſented by them to the world the more inhumane and barbarous: Like ſom Cyclopick monſter, whom nothing will ſerv to eat and drink, but the fleſh and blood of My own Subjects; in whoſe common welfare My intereſt lie's as much as ſom men's doth in their perturbations: who think they cannot do well but in evil times; nor ſo cunningly as in laying the *Odium* of thoſe ſad events on others, wherewith themſelvs are moſt pleaſed, and whereof they have been not the leaſt occaſion.

And, certainly, 'tis thought by manie wiſe men, that the prepoſterous rigor and unreaſonable ſeveritie, which ſom men carried before them in *England*, was not the leaſt incentive that kindled and blew up into thoſe horrid flames, the ſparks of diſcontent, which wanted not pre-diſpoſed fewel for Rebellion in *Ireland*; where, deſpair beeing added to their former diſcontents, and the fears of utter extirpation to their wonted oppreſſions, it was eaſie to provoke, to an open Rebellion, a people prone enough

to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by ſom Principles of their Religion, and the natural deſires of libertie; both to exempt themſelvs from their preſent reſtraints, and to prevent thoſe after-rigors, wherewith they ſaw themſelvs apparently threat'ned, by the covetous zeal, and uncharitable furie of ſom men, who think it a great Argument of the truth of their Religion to endure no other but their own.

God know's, as I can with Truth waſh My hands in Innocencie, as to anie guilt in that Rebellion; ſo I might waſh them in My Tears, as to the ſad apprehenſions I had, to ſee it ſpread ſo far, and make ſuch waſte. And this in a time, when diſtractions and jealouſies here in *England* made moſt men rather intent to their own ſafetie, or deſigns they were driving, then to the relief of thoſe, who were everie daie inhumanely butchered in *Ireland:* Whoſe tears and blood might, if nothing elſ, have quenched, or, at leaſt, for a time, repreſſed and ſmothered thoſe ſparks of Civil diſſentions and Jealouſies, which in *England* ſom men moſt induſtriouſly ſcattered.

I would to God no man had been leſs affected with *Ireland's* ſad eſtate then My ſelf; I offered to go My ſelf in Perſon upon that expedition; But ſom men were either afraid

I ſhould

I ſhould have anie one Kingdom quieted; or loth they were to ſhoot at anie mark here leſs then My ſelf; or that anie ſhould have the glorie of My deſtruction, but themſelves. Had My manie offers been accepted, I am confident, neither the ruine had been ſo great; nor the calamitie ſo long; nor the remedie ſo deſperate.

So that, next to the ſin of thoſe, who began that Rebellion, their's muſt needs bee, who either hindered the ſpeedie ſuppreſſing of it by Domeſtick diſſenſions, or diverted the Aids, or exaſperated the Rebels to the moſt deſperate reſolutions and actions, by threat'ning all extremities, not onely to the known heads and chief incendiaries, but even to the whole communitie of that Nation; Reſolving to deſtroie Root and Branch, men, women, and children, without anie regard to thoſe uſual pleas for mercie, which Conquerers, not wholly barbarous, are wont to hear from their own breaſts, in behalf of thoſe, whoſe oppreſſive fears, rather then their malice, engaged them; or whoſe imbecilitie for Sex and Age was ſuch, as they could neither lift up a hand againſt them, nor diſtinguiſh between their right hand and their left: Which prepoſterous, and (I think) un-evangelical Zeal is too like that of the rebuked Diſciples, who would go no lower in

their revenge, then to call for fire from Heaven upon whole Citties, for the repulſ or neglect of a few; or like that of *Jacob's* ſons, which the Father both blamed and curſed: chuſing rather to uſe all extremities which might drive men to deſperate obſtinacie, then to applie moderate remedies; ſuch as might puniſh ſom with exemplarie Juſtice, yet diſarm others, with tenders of Mercie upon their ſubmiſſion, and our protection of them from the furie of thoſe, who would ſoon drown them, if they refuſed to ſwim down the popular ſtream with them.

But ſom kinde of zeal count's all merciful moderation, luke-warmneſs; and had rather bee cruel, then counted cold; and is not ſeldom more greedie to kill the Bear for his skin, then for anie harm hee hath don. The confiſcation of men's Eſtates beeing more beneficial, then the charitie of ſaving their Lives, or reforming their Errors.

When all proportionable ſuccours of the poor Proteſtants in *Ireland* (who were daily maſſacred and over-born with numbers of now-deſperate Enemies) were diverted and obſtructed here, I was earneſtly entreated and generally adviſed, by the chief of the Proteſtant partie there, to get them ſom reſpite and breathing by a Ceſſation; without which they ſaw no probabilitie (unleſs by miracle) to preſerv

ſerv the remnant that had vet eſcaped: God know's, with how much Commiſeration and ſolicitous Caution I carried on that buſineſs, by Perſons of Honor and Integritie; that ſo I might neither encourage the Rebel's inſolencie, nor diſcourage the Proteſtant's Loyaltie and Patience.

Yet, when this was effected in the beſt ſort that the neceſſitie and difficultie of affairs would then permit, I was then to ſuffer again in My Reputation and Honor; becauſ I ſuffered not the Rebels utterly to devour the remaining handfuls of the Proteſtants there.

I thought, that in all reaſon, the gaining of that reſpite could not bee ſo much to the Rebel's advantages (which ſom have highly calumniated againſt Mee) as it might have been for the Proteſtant's future, as well as preſent ſafetie; if, during the time of that Ceſſation, ſom men had had the grace to have lai'd *Ireland*'s ſad condition more to heart; and lai'd aſide thoſe violent motions which were here carried on by thoſe, that had better skill to let blood then to ſtanch it.

But in all the miſ-conſtructions of My actions, (which are prone to finde more credulitie in men to what is falſ and evil, then love or charitie to what is true and good)

as I have no Judg but God above Mee, so I can have comfort to appeal to his omniscience, who doth not therefore denie My Innocence, becauſ he is pleaſed ſo far to trie My patience, as he did his ſervant *Job's*.

I have enough to do to look to My own Conſcience, and the faithful diſcharge of My Truſt as a KING; I have ſcarce leiſure to conſider thoſe ſwarms of reproaches, which iſſue out of ſom men's mouths and hearts, as eaſily as ſmoak or ſparks do out of a furnace; Much leſs to make ſuch prolix Apologies, as might give thoſe men ſatisfaction: who, conſcious to their own depth of wickedneſs, are loth to believ anie man not to bee as bad as themſelvs.

'Tis Kinglie to do well, and hear ill: If I can but act the one, I ſhall not much regard to bear the other.

I thank God I can hear with patience, as bad as my worſt enemies can falſly ſaie. And, I hope, I ſhall ſtill do better then they deſire, or deſerv I ſhould.

I believ it will at laſt appear, that they who firſt began to embroil My other Kingdoms, are in great part guiltie; if not of the firſt letting out, yet of the not timelie ſtopping thoſe horrid effuſions of blood in *Ireland*.

Which (whatever My enemies pleaſ to ſaie or think) I look upon, as that of My other King-

Kingdoms, exhauſted out of My own veins; no man beeing ſo much weak'ned by it, as My ſelf: And, I hope, though men's unſatiable cruelties never will, yet the mercie of God will at length ſaie to his juſtice, *It is enough:* and command the Sword of Civil Warrs to ſheath it ſelf: His merciful juſtice intending, I truſt, not our utter confuſion, but our cure; the abatement of our ſins, not the deſolating of theſe Nations.

O my God, let thoſe infinite mercies prevent us once again, which I and My Kingdoms have formerly abuſed, and can never deſerv ſhould bee reſtored.

Thou ſee'ſt how much crueltie among Chriſtians is acted under the color of Religion; as if wee could not bee Chriſtians, unleſs wee crucifie one another.

Becauſ wee have not more loved thy Truth, and practiced in charitie; thou haſt ſuffered a ſpirit of error and bitterneſs, of mutual and mortal hatred to riſe among us.

O Lord, forgive wherein wee have ſinned; and ſanctifie what we have ſuffered.

Let our Repentance bee our recoverie; as our great ſins have been our ruine.

Let not the miſeries, I and my Kingdoms have hitherto ſuffered, ſeem ſmall to thee: but make our ſins appear to our conſciences, as they are repre-

ſented in the glaſs of thy judgments; for thou never puniſheſt ſmall failings with ſo ſevere Afflictions.

O therefore, according to the multitude of thy great Mercies, pardon our ſins, and remoov thy Judgments which are verie manie and verie heavie.

Yet let our ſins bee ever more grievous to us, then thy Judgments; and make us more willing to repent, then to bee relieved: firſt give us the Peace of penitent conſciences, and then the Tranquillitie of united Kingdoms.

In the ſea of our Saviour's blood drown our ſins, and, through this red ſea of our own blood, bring us at laſt to a ſtate of Pietie, Peace, and Plentie.

As My publick relations to all make Mee ſhare in all My Subjects ſufferings; ſo give Mee ſuch a pious ſenſ of them, as becom's a Chriſtian King, and a loving Father of My People.

Let the ſcandalous and unjuſt reproaches caſt upon Mee bee as a breath, more to kindle my compaſsion; Give Mee grace to heap charitable coals of fire upon their heads to melt them, whoſe malice or cruel Zeal hath kindled or hindred the quenching of thoſe flames, which have ſo much waſted My three Kingdoms.

O reſcue and aſsiſt thoſe poor Proteſtants in Ireland, *whom thou haſt hitherto preſerved:*

And lead thoſe in the waies of thy ſaving Truths, whoſe ignorance or errors have filled them

them with rebellious and destructive principles; which they act under an opinion, That they do thee good service.

Let the hand of thy Justice bee against those, who malitiously and despitefully have raised or fomented those cruel and desperate Wars.

Thou that art far from destroying the Innocent with the Guiltie, and the Erroneous with the Malitious; Thou that had'st pittie on Nineveh for the manie Children that were therein, give not over the whole stock of that populous and seduced Nation, to the wrath of those, whose covetousness make's them cruel; nor to their anger, which is too fierce; and therefore justly cursed.

Preserv, if it bee thy will, in the mid'st of the furnace of thy severe Justice a Posteritie which may praise thee for thy Mercie;

And deal with Mee, not according to man's unjust reproaches, but according to the innocencie of My hands in thy sight.

If I have desired or delighted in the woful daie of My Kingdom's calamities; if I have not earnestly studied and faithfully endeavoured the preventing and composing of these bloodie distractions; then let thy hand bee against Mee, and My Father's hous. O Lord, thou see'st I have enemies enough of men; as I need not, so I should not dare thus to imprecate thy curs on Mee and Mine, if My Conscience did not witness My Integritie, which thou O Lord knowest right well; But I

trust

truſt not to My own merit, but thy mercies; ſpare us, O Lord, and bee not angrie with us for ever.

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13. *Upon the Calling in of the Scots, and their Comming.*

THe *Scots* are a Nation, upon whom I have not onely common ties of Nature, Sovereignitie, and Bountie, with My Father of bleſſed memorie; but alſo ſpecial and late obligations of favors, having gratified the active Spirits among them ſo far, that I ſeemed, to manie, to prefer the deſires of that Partie, before My own intereſt and Honor. But, I ſee, Royall bountie embolden's ſom men to ask and act beyond all bounds of modeſtie and gratitude.

My charitie, and Act of Pacification forbid's Mee to reflect on former paſſages; wherein I ſhall ever bee far from letting anie man's ingratitude or inconſtancie make Mee repent of what I granted them for the publick good: I praie God it may ſo proov.

The comming again of that Partie into *England*, with an Armie, onely to conform this Church to their late New model, cannot but ſeem as unreaſonable, as they would have thought the ſame meaſure offered from hence to themſelvs.

Other

Other errand I could never understand they had, (besides those common and vulgar flourishes for Religion and Libertie) save onely to confirm the Presbyterian Copie they had set, by making this Church to write after them, though it were in bloodie Characters.

Which design and end, whether it will justifie the use of such violent means, before the divine Justice, I leav to their Consciences to judg, who have alreadie felt the miserie of the means, but not reaped the benefit of the end, either in this Kingdom, or that.

Such knots and crosnes of grain beeing objected here, as will hardly suffer that form which they crie up, as the onely just reformation and setling of Government and Discipline in Churches, to go on so smoothly here, as it might do in *Scotland*; and, was by them imagined would have don in *England*, when so manie of the *English* Clergie, through levitie, or discontent, if no worse passion, suddenly quitted their former engagements to Episcopacie, and faced about to their Presbyterie.

It cannot but seem either passion, or som self-seeking, more then true Zeal and pious Discretion, for anie forrein State or Church to prescribe such medicines onely for others, which themselvs have used, rather successfully

fully then commendably; not conſidering that the ſame Phyſick on different conſtitutions will have different operations; That may kill one, which doth but cure another.

Nor do I know anie ſuch tough and malignant humors in the conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Church, which gentler applications, then thoſe of an Armie, might not eaſily have removed: Nor is it ſo proper to hew out religious Reformations by the Sword, as to poliſh them by fair and equal diſputations among thoſe that are moſt concerned in the differences; whom not Force, but Reaſon ought to convince.

But their deſign now ſeemed rather to cut off all diſputation here, then to procure a fair and equal one: For it was concluded there, that the *Engliſh* Clergie muſt conform to the *Scot*'s pattern before ever they could bee heard what they could ſaie for themſelvs, or againſt the other's waie.

I could have wiſh'd fairer proceedings both for their credits, who urge things with ſuch violence; and for other men's Conſciences too; who can receiv little ſatisfaction in theſe points, which are maintained rather by Souldier's fighting in the Fields, then Scholar's diſputing in free and learned Synods.

Sure, in matters of Religion thoſe truths gain moſt on men's Judgments and Conſciences,

ences, which are leaſt urged with ſecular violence, which weaken's Truth with prejudices; and is unreaſonable to bee uſed, till ſuch means of rational conviction have been applied, as, leaving no excuſe for ignorance, condemn men's obſtinacie to deſerved penalties.

Which no charitie will eaſily ſuſpect of ſo manie learned and pious Church-men in *England*; who, beeing alwaies bred up & conformable to the Government of Epiſcopacie, cannot ſo ſoon renounce both their former opinion and practice, onely becauſ that Partie of the *Scots* will needs by force aſſiſt alike Partie here, either to drive all Miniſters, as ſheep into the common fold of Presbyterie; or deſtroie them; at leaſt fleece them, by depriving them of the benefit of their Flocks. If the *Scotch* ſole Presbyterie were prooved to bee the onelie inſtitution of Jeſus Chriſt, for all Churche's-Government; yet I believ it would bee hard to proov, that Chriſt had given thoſe *Scots*, or anie other of My Subjects, Commiſſion by the Sword to ſet it up in anie of my Kingdoms, without My Conſent.

What reſpect and obedience Chriſt and his Apoſtles pai'd to the chief Governors of States, where they lived, is verie clear in the Goſpel; but, that hee, or they ever commanded

manded to ſet up ſuch a paritie of Presbyters, and in ſuch a waie as thoſe *Scots* endeavor, I think is not verie diſputable.

If Presbyterie in ſuch a ſupremacie bee an inſtitution of Chriſt, ſure it differ's from all others; and is the firſt and onely point of Chriſtianitie, that was to be planted and watered with ſo much Chriſtian blood; whoſe effuſion run's in a ſtream ſo contrarie to that of the Primitive Planters, both of Chriſtianitie and Epiſcopacie, which was with patient ſhedding of their own blood, not violent drawing other men's. Sure there is too much of Man in it, to have much of Chriſt; none of whoſe inſtitutions were carried on, or begun with the temptations of Covetouſneſs or Ambition; of both which this is vehemently ſuſpected.

Yet was there never anie thing upon the point, which thoſe *Scots* had by Armie or Commiſſioners to moov Mee with, by their manie Solemn obteſtations and pious threatnings, but onely this; to repreſent to Mee the wonderful neceſſitie of ſetting up their Preſbyterie in *England* to avoid the further miſeries of a War; which ſom men chiefly on this deſign at firſt had begun, and now further engaged themſelvs to continue.

What hinder's that any Sects, Schiſms, or Hereſies, if they can get but number, ſtrength and

and opportunitie, may not, according to this opinion and pattern, ſet up their waies by the like methods of violence? all which Preſbyterie ſeek's to ſuppreſs and render odious under thoſe names; when wiſe and learned men think, that nothing hath more marks of Schiſm and Sectariſm, then this Presbyterian waie; both as to the Antient, and ſtill moſt Univerſal waie of the Church-government; and eſpecially as to the particular Laws and Conſtitutions of this *Engliſh* Church; which are not yet repealed, nor are like to bee for Mee, till I ſee more Rational and Religious motives then Souldiers uſe to carrie in their Knapſacks.

But wee muſt leav the ſucceſs of all to God, who hath manie waies (having firſt taken us off from the follie of our opinions, and furie of our paſſion) to teach us thoſe rules of true Reaſon and peaceable Wiſdom, which is from above, tending moſt to God's glorie, and his Churche's good; which I think My ſelf ſo much the more bound in Conſcience to attend with the moſt judicious Zeal and care, by how much I eſteem the Church above the State; the glorie of Chriſt above mine Own; and the ſalvation of men's Souls above the preſervation of their Bodies and Eſtates.

Nor may anie men, I think, without ſin and

pre-

presumption, forcibly endeavour to cast the Churches, under My care and tuition, into the moulds they have fancied and fashioned to their designs, till they have first gained My consent, and resolved both My own and other men's Consciences by the strength of their Reasons.

Other violent motions, which are neither Manlie, Christian, nor Loyal, shall never either shake or unsettle My Religion; nor anie man's elf, who know's what Religion mean's, and how far it is remooved from all Faction; whose proper engine is Force, the arbitrator of beasts, not of reasonable men, much less of humble Christians and loyal Subjects, in matters of Religion.

But men are prone to have such high conceits of themselvs, that they care not what cost they laie out upon their opinions; especially those that have som temptation of gain to recompence their losses and hazards.

Yet I was not more scandalized at the *Scot*'s Armie's comming in against My will, and their forfeiture of so manie obligations of dutie and gratitude to Mee, then I wondered, how those here could so much distrust God's assistance; who so much pretended God's Caus to the People, as if they had the certaintie of som divine Revelation; considering they were more then competently furnished

with

with my Subject's Arms and Ammunition; My Navie by Sea; My Forts, Caſtles, and Cities by Land.

But I finde that men jealous of the Juſtifiableneſs of their doings and deſigns before God, never think they have humane ſtrength enough to carrie their work on, ſeem it never ſo plauſible to the People; what cannot bee juſtified in Law or Religion, had need be fortified with Power.

And yet ſuch is the inconſtancie that attend's all mindes engaged in violent motion, that whom ſom of them one while earneſtly invite to com in to their aſſiſtance, others of them ſoon after are wearie of, and with nauſeating caſt them out: what one Partie thought to rivet to a ſettledneſs by the ſtrength and influence of the *Scots*, that the other reject's and contemn's; at once, deſpiſing the Kirk-Government and Diſcipline of the *Scots*, and fruſtrating the ſucceſs of ſo chargeable more then charitable aſſiſtance: For, ſure the Church of *England* might have purchaſed, at a far cheaper rate, the truth and happineſs of Reformed Government and Diſcipline (if it had been wanting) though it had entertained the beſt Divines of Chriſtendom for their adviſe in a full and free Synod, which I was ever willing to, and deſirous of, that matters beeing impartially ſettled,

might bee more satisfactorie to all, and more durable.

But much of God's justice, and man's follie will at length bee discovered, through all the films and pretensions of Religion, in which Politicians wrap up their designs; in vain do men hope to build their pietie on the ruines of Loyaltie. Nor can those confederations or designs bee durable, when Subjects make bankrupt of their Allegiance, under pretens of setting up a quicker trade for Religion.

But, as My best Subjects of *Scotland* never deserted Mee, so I cannot think that the most are gon so far from Mee, in a Prodigalitie of their love & respects towards Mee, as to make Mee to despair of their return; when, besides the bonds of nature and Conscience, which they have to Mee, all Reason and true Policie will teach them, that their chiefest interest consist's in their fidelitie to the Crown, not in their serviceableness to anie Partie of the People, to a neglect and betraying of My safetie and Honor for their own advantages: However, the less caus I have to trust to men, the more I shall applie My self to God.

The troubles of My Soul are enlarged, O Lord, bring thou Mee out of My distress.

Lord direct thy Servant in the waies of that pious simplicitie, which is the best policie.

Deliver

Deliver Mee from the combin'd ſtrength of thoſe who have ſo much of the Serpent's ſubtiltie, that they forget the Dove's Innocentie.

Though hand join in hand, yet let them not prevail againſt My ſoul; to the betraying of My Conſcience and Honor.

Thou, O Lord, can'ſt turn the hearts of thoſe Parties in both Nations, as thou did'ſt the men of Judah *and* Iſraël, *to reſtore* David *with as much loyal Zeal, as they did with inconſtancie and eagerneſs purſue Him.*

Preſerv the love of thy Truth and uprightneſs in Mee, and I ſhall not deſpair of my Subjects affections returning towards Mee.

Thou can'ſt ſoon cauſ the over-flowing Seas to ebb, and retire back again to the bounds which thou haſt appointed for them.

O My God, I truſt in thee; let Mee not bee aſhamed; let not My enemies triumph over mee.

Let them bee aſhamed who tranſgreſs without a cauſ; let them bee turned back that perſecute My Soul.

Let Integritie and uprightneſs preſerv Mee, for I wait on thee, O Lord.

Redeem thy Church, O God, out of all its Troubles.

14. *Upon the Covenant.*

THe *Presbyterian Scots* are not to bee hired at the ordinarie rate of Auxiliaries; nothing will induce them to engage, till thoſe that call them in have pawned their Souls to them by a Solemn League and Covenant.

Where manie engines of religious and fair pretenſions are brought chiefly to batter, or raſe Epiſcopacie; This they make the grand evil Spirit, which, (with ſom other Imps purpoſely added, to make it more odious, and terrible to the Vulgar,) muſt by ſo ſolemn a charm and exorciſm bee caſt out of this Church, after more then a thouſand years poſſeſſion here, from the firſt plantation of Chriſtianitie in this Iſland; and an univerſal preſcription of time and practice in all other Churches, ſince the Apoſtle's times, till this laſt Centurie.

But no Antiquitie muſt plead for it: Preſbyterie, like a young Heir, think's the Father hath lived long enough, and impatient not to bee in the Biſhop's Chair & Autoritie (though Lay-men go awaie with the Revenues) all Art is uſed to ſink Epiſcopacie, and lanch Presbyterie in *England*; which was lately buoyed up in *Scotland* by the like artifice of a Covenant.

Although I am unſatisfied with manie paſ-

ſages

ſages in that Covenant (ſoth referring to My ſelf with verie dubious and dangerous limitations) yet I chiefly wonder at the deſign and drift touching the Diſcipline and Government of the Church; and ſuch a manner of carrying them on to new waies, by Oaths and Covenants; where it is hard for men to bee engaged by no leſs, then ſwearing for, or againſt thoſe things, which are of no clear moral neceſſitie; but verie diſputable, and controverted among learned and godlie men: whereto the application of Oaths can hardly bee made and enjoined with that judgment, and certaintie in one's ſelf, or that charitie and candor to others of different opinion, as I think Religion require's; which never refuſe's fair and equable deliberations; yea, and diſſentings too, in matters onely probable.

The enjoining of Oaths upon People muſt needs in things doubtful bee dangerous; as, in things unlawful, damnable; and no leſs ſuperfluous, where former religious and legal Engagements bound men ſufficiently to all neceſſarie duties. Nor can I ſee how they will reconcile ſuch an Innovating Oath and Covenant with that former Proteſtation, which was ſo lately taken, to maintain the Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*; ſince they account Diſcipline ſo great a part of Religion.

But ambitious mindes never think they have lai'd ſnares & gins enough to catch and hold the Vulgar credulitie: for, by ſuch politick and ſeemingly-pious ſtratagems, they think to keep the populacie faſt to their Parties under the terror of perjurie: Whereas certainly all honeſt and wiſe men ever thought themſelvs ſufficiently bound by former ties of Religion, Allegiance, and Laws, to God and man.

Nor can ſuch after-Contracts, deviſed and impoſed by a few men in a declared Partie, without My conſent, and without anie like power or precedent from God's or man's laws, bee ever thought by judicious men ſufficient either to abſolv or ſlacken thoſe moral and eternal bonds of dutie, which lie upon all My Subject's conſciences both to God and Mee.

Yet, as things now ſtand, good men ſhall leaſt offend God or Mee, by keeping their Covenant in honeſt and lawfull waies, ſince I have the charitie to think, that the chief end of the Covenant, in ſuch men's intentions, was, to preſerv Religion in Puritie, and the Kingdoms in Peace: To other then ſuch ends and means they cannot think themſelvs engaged: nor will thoſe, that have anie true touches of Conſcience endevour to carrie on the beſt deſigns, (much leſs ſuch as are, and will bee

daily

daily more apparently factious and ambitious) by anie unlawful means, under that title of the Covenant: unleſs they dare prefer ambiguous, dangerous, and un-autorized novelties, before their known and ſworn duties, which are indiſpenſable, both to God and My ſelf.

I am prone to believ and hope, That manie, who took the Covenant, are yet firm to this judgment, That ſuch later Vows, Oaths, or Leagues can never blot out thoſe former gravings and characters, which by juſt and lawfull Oaths were made upon their Souls.

That which make's ſuch Confederations by waie of ſolemn Leagues and Covenants more to bee ſuſpected, is, That they are the common road, uſed in all factious and powerful perturbations of State or Church: where formalities of extraordinarie zeal and pietie are never more ſtudied and elaborate, then when Politicians moſt agitate deſperate deſigns againſt all that is ſetled, or ſacred in Religion, and Laws; which by ſuch ſcrues are cunningly, yet forcibly, wreſted by ſecret ſteps, and leſs ſenſible degrees, from their known Rule and wonted Practice, to complie with the humors of thoſe men, who aim to ſubdue all to their own will and power, under the diſguiſes of Holie Combinations.

Which cords and withs will hold men's

Conſciences no longer, then force attend's and twiſt's them: for everie man ſoon grow's his own Pope, and eaſily abſolv's himſelf of thoſe ties, which not the commands of God's Word, or the Laws of the Land, but onely the ſubtiltie and terror of a Partie caſt's upon him; either ſuperfluous and vain, when they were ſufficiently tied before; or fraudulent and injurious, if by ſuch after-ligaments they finde the impoſers really aiming to diſſolv, or ſuſpend their former, juſt, and neceſſarie obligation.

Indeed, ſuch illegal waies ſeldom, or never, intend the engaging men more to Duties, but onely to Parties; therefore it is not regarded how they keep their Covenants in point of pietie pretended, provided they adhere firmly to the Partie and Deſign intended.

I ſee the Impoſers of it are content to make their Covenant like Manna (not that it came from Heaven, as this did) agreeable to everie man's palat and reliſh, who will but ſwallow it: They admit anie men's ſenſes of it, though diverſ, or contrarie; with anie ſalvo's, cautions and reſervations; ſo as they croſs not the Chief Deſign which is laid againſt the Church, and Mee.

It is enough if they get but the reputation of a ſeeming encreaſ to their Partie: ſo little men remember that God is not mocked.

In

In ſuch latitudes of ſenſ, I believ manie that love Mee, and the Church well, may have taken the Covenant, who yet are not ſo fondly and ſuperſtitiouſly taken by it, as now to act clearly againſt both all pietie & loyaltie: who firſt yeilded to it, more to prevent that imminent violence and ruine, which hung over their heads in caſe they wholly refuſed it, then for anie value of it, or devotion to it.

Wherein, the latitude of ſom general Clauſes may (perhaps) ſerv ſomwhat to reliev them; as of *Doing and endevouring what lawfully they may*, in *their Places and Callings*, and *according to the Word of God*: for, theſe (Indeed) carrie no man beyond thoſe bounds of good Conſcience which are certain and fixed, either in God's Laws, as to the general; or the Laws of the State and Kingdom, as to the particular regulation and exerciſe of men's duties:

I would to God ſuch as glorie moſt in the name of *Covenanters*, would keep themſelvs within thoſe lawful bounds, to which God hath called them: Surely it were the beſt waie to expiate the raſhneſs of taking it: which muſt needs then appear, when beſides the want of a full and lawful Autoritie at firſt to enjoin it, it ſhall actually bee carried on beyond and againſt thoſe ends which were in it ſpecified and pretended. I willingly forgive

ſuch

ſuch men's taking the Covenant, who keep it with in ſuch bounds of Pietie, Law, & Loyaltie, as can never hurt either the Church, My ſelf, or the Publick Peace: Againſt which no man's lawful Calling can engage him.

As for that reformation of the Church, which the Covenant pretend's, I cannot think it juſt or comly, that by the partial adviſe of a few Divines, (of ſo ſoft and ſervile tempers, as diſpoſed them to ſo ſudden acting & compliance, contrarie to their former judgments, profeſſion, and practice) ſuch foul ſcandals and ſuſpicions ſhould bee caſt upon the Doctrine and Government of the Church of *England*, as was never don (that I have heard) by anie that deſerved the name of *Reformed Churches* abroad, nor by anie men of learning and candor at home: all whoſe judgments I cannot but prefer before anie men's now factiouſly engaged.

No man can bee more forward then My ſelf to carrie on all due Reformations, with mature judgment, and a good Conſcience, in what things I ſhall (after impartial adviſe) bee, by God's Word, and right reaſon, convinced to bee amiſs; I have offered more then ever the fulleſt, free'ſt, and wiſeſt Parliaments did deſire.

But the ſequel of ſom men's actions make's it evident, that the main Reformation intended,

ded, is the abaſing of Epiſcopacie into Preſbyterie, and the robbing the Church of its Lands and Revenues: For, no men have been more injuriouſly uſed, as to their legal Rights, then the Biſhops and Church-men. Theſe, as the fatteſt Deer, muſt bee deſtroyed; the other Raſcal-herd of Schiſms, Hereſies, &c. beeing lean, may enjoie the benefit of a Toleration: Thus *Naboth*'s Vineyard made him the onely Blaſphemer of his Cittie, and fit to die. Still I ſee, while the breath of Religion fill's the Sails, Profit is the Compaſs, by which Factious men ſteer their courſ in all ſeditious Commotions.

I thank God, as no man laie more open to the ſacrilegious temptation of uſurping the Churche's Lands and Revenues, (which iſſuing chiefly from the Crown, are held of it, and legally can revert onely to the Crown, with My Conſent) ſo I have alwaies had ſuch a perfect abhorrence of it in My Soul, that I never found the leaſt inclination to ſuch ſacrilegious Reformings: yet no man hath a greater deſire to have Biſhops and all Churchmen ſo reformed, that they may beſt deſerv and uſe, not onely what the pious Munificence of My Predeceſſors hath giv'n to God and the Church, but all other additions of Chriſtian bountie.

But no neceſſitie ſhall ever, I hope, drive Mee

or

or Mine to invade or ſell the Prieſt's Lands; which both *Pharaoh*'s divinitie, and *Joſeph*'s true pietie abhorred to do: ſo unjuſt I think it, both in the eie of Reaſon and Religion, to deprive the moſt ſacred emploiment of all due incouragements; and like that other hard-hearted *Pharaoh*, to with-draw the Straw, and encreaſ the Task; ſo purſuing the oppreſſed Church, as ſom have don, to the red ſea of a Civil War, where nothing but a miracle can ſave either It, or Him, who eſteem's it His greateſt Title to bee called, and His chiefeſt glorie to bee, *The Defendor of the Church, both in its true Faith, and its juſt fruitions; equally abhorring Sacriledg and Apoſtacie.*

I had rather live as My Predeceſſor *Henrie* the third ſomtime did, on the Churche's Alms, then violently to take the bread out of Biſhop's and Miniſter's mouths.

The next work will bee *Jeroboam*'s reformation; conſecrating the meaneſt of the People to bee Prieſts in *Iſrael*, to ſerv thoſe golden Calvs who have enriched themſelvs with the Churche's Patrimonie and Dowrie; which how it thrived both with Prince, Prieſts & People, is well enough known: And ſo it will bee here, when, from the tuition of Kings and Queens, which have been nurſing Fathers and Mothers of this Church, it ſhall bee at their allowance, who have alreadie diſcovered

covered, what hard Fathers and Step-mothers they will bee.

If the povertie of *Scotland* might, yet the plentie of *England* cannot excuſe the envie and rapine of the Churche's Rights and Revenues.

I cannot ſo much as praie God to prevent thoſe ſad conſequences, which will inevitably follow the paritie and povertie of Miniſters, both in Church and State; ſince I think it no leſs then a mocking and tempting of God, to deſire him to hinder thoſe miſchiefs, whoſe occaſions and remedies are in our own power; it beeing everie man's ſin not to avoid the one, and not to uſe the other.

There are waies enough to repair the breaches of the State without the ruines of the Church; as I would bee a Reſtorer of the one, ſo I would not bee an Oppreſſor of the other, under the pretenſ of Publick Debts: The occaſions contracting them were bad enough, but ſuch a diſcharging of them would bee much worſ; I praie God neither I, nor Mine, may bee acceſſorie to either.

To thee, O Lord, do I addreſs My praier, beſeeching thee to pardon the raſhneſs of My Subjects's Swearings, and to quicken their ſenſ and obſervation of thoſe juſt, moral, and indiſpenſable bonds, which thy Word, and the Laws of this

this Kingdom have lai'd upon their Consciences; from which no pretensions of Pietie and Reformation are sufficient to absolv them, or to engage them to anie contrarie practices.

Make them at length serionsly to consider, that nothing violent and injurious can bee religious.

Thou alloweſt no man's committing Sacriledg, under the zeal of abhorring Idols.

Suffer not sacrilegious designs to have the countenance of religious Ties.

Thou hast taught us by the wiſeſt of Kings, that it is a snare to take things that are Holie, and after Vows to make inquirie.

Ever keep thy servant from consenting to perjurious and sacrilegious rapines, that I may not have the brand and curſe to all posteritie of robbing Thee and thy Church, of what thy bountie hath giv'n us, and thy clemencie accepted from us, wherewith to encourage Learning and Religion.

Though My Treasures are Exhauſted, My Revennes Diminiſhed, and My Debts Increaſed, yet never suffer Mee to bee tempted to use such profane Reparations; leſt a coal from thine Altar set such a fire on My Throne and Conscience as will bee hardly quenched.

Let not the debts & engagements of the Publick, which som men's follie & prodigalitie hath contracted, bee an occasion to impoveriſh thy Church.

The State may soon recover, by thy bleſsing of Peace upon us; the Church is never likely, in times,

times, where the Charitie of moſt men is grown ſo cold, and their Religion ſo illiberal.

Continue to thoſe that ſerv Thee and thy Church all thoſe encouragements, which, by the will of the pious Donors, and the Juſtice of the Laws, are due unto them; and give them grace to deſerv and uſe them aright to thy glorie, and the reliefe of the poor; that thy Prieſts may bee clothed with righteouſneſs, and the poor may bee ſatisfied with bread.

Let not Holie things bee giv'n to Swine, nor the Churche's bread to Dogs; rather let them go about the Cittie, grin like a Dog, and grudg that they are not ſatisfied.

Let thoſe Sacred morſels, which ſom men have already by violence devoured, never digeſt with them, nor their's; let them bee as Naboth's *Vineyard to* Ahab, *gall in their Mouths, rottenneſs to their Names, a moth to their Families, and a ſting to their Conſciences.*

Break in ſunder, O Lord, all violent and ſacrilegious Confederations to do wickedly and injuriouſly.

Divide their hearts and tongues who have bandied together againſt the Church and State; that the follie of ſuch may bee manifeſt to all men, and proceed no further.

But ſo favor My righteous dealing, O Lord, that, in the Mercies of thee the moſt High, I may never miſcarrie.

25. *Upon*

15. *Upon the manie Jealouſies raiſed, and Scandals caſt upon the* KING, *to ſtir up the People againſt Him.*

IF I had not My own Innocencie, and God's protection, it were hard for Mee to ſtand out againſt thoſe ſtratagems and conflicts of malice, which by Falſities ſeek to oppreſs the Truth; and by Jealouſies to ſupplie the defect of Real cauſſes, which might ſeem to juſtifie ſo unjuſt Engagements againſt Mee.

And indeed, the worſt effects of open Hoſtilitie com ſhort of theſe deſigns: For, I can more willingly loſe My Crowns, then My Credit; nor are My Kingdoms ſo dear to Mee, as My Reputation and Honor.

Thoſe muſt have a period with My life; but theſe may ſurvive to a glorious kinde of Immortalitie, when I am dead and gon: A good Name beeing the embalming of Princes, and a ſweet conſecrating of them to an Eternitie of love and gratitude among Poſteritie.

Thoſe foul and falſ aſſperſions were ſecret engines at firſt emploied againſt My People's love of Mee: that, undermining their opinion and value of Mee, My enemies, and their's too, might at once blow up their affections, and batter down their Loyaltie.

Wherein

Wherein yet, I thank God, the detriment of My Honor is not ſo afflictive to Mee, as the ſin and danger of My people's ſouls; whoſe eies once blinded with ſuch miſts of ſuſpicions, they are ſoon miſ-led into the moſt deſperate precipices of actions; wherein they do not onely not conſider their ſin and danger, but glorie in their zealous adventures; while I am rendred to them ſo fit to bee deſtroied, that manie are ambitious to merit the name of My Deſtroiers; Imagining they then fear God moſt, when they leaſt honor their King.

I thank God, I never found but My pittie was above My anger; nor have My paſſions ever ſo prevailed againſt Mee, as to exclude My moſt compaſſionate praiers for them, whom devout errors, more then their own malice have betraied to a moſt religious Rebellion.

I had the Charitie to interpret, that moſt part of My Subjects fought againſt My ſuppoſed Errors, not My Perſon, and intended to mend Mee, not to end Mee: And, I hope, that God, pardoning their Errors, hath ſo far accepted and anſwered their good intentions, that as hee hath yet preſerved Mee, ſo hee hath by theſe afflictions prepared Mee, both to do him better ſervice, and My people more good, then hitherto I have don.

I do not more willingly forgive their seductions, which occasioned their loyal injurie, then I am ambitious by all Princely merits to redeem them from their unjust suspitions, and reward them for their good intentions.

I am too conscious to My own Affections toward the generalitie of My people, to suspect theirs to Mee; nor shal the malice of My Enemies ever bee able to deprive Mee of the comfort, which that confidence give's Mee, I shall never gratifie the spightfulness of a few with anie sinister thought of all their Allegiance, whom pious frauds have seduced.

The worst som men's ambition can do, shall never perswade Mee to make so bad interpretations of most of My Subject's actions, who possibly may bee Erroneous, but not Heretical in point of Loyaltie.

The sens of the Injuries don unto my Subjects is as sharp, as those don to My self; our welfares beeing inseparable; in this only they suffer more then My self, that they are animated by som seducers to injure Mee, and both themselvs and Mee.

For this is not enough to the malice of My Enemies, that I bee afflicted; but it must bee don by such instruments, that My afflictions griev Mee not more, then this doth, that I am afflicted by those, whose prosperitie I earnest-

ly

ly desire, and whose seduction I heartily deplore.

If they had been My open and forraign Enemies, I could have born it; but they must bee My own Subjects, who are, next to My Children, dear to Mee: and for the restoring of whose tranquillitie, I could willingly bee the *Jonah*, if I did not evidently fore-see, that by the divided Interests of their and Mine Enemies, as by contrarie windes, the storm of their miseries would bee rather increased then alleied.

I had rather prevent My people's ruine then Rule over them; nor am I so ambitious of that Dominion, which is but My Right, as of their happiness, if it could expiate or countervail such a way of obtaining it, by the highest injuries of Subjects committed against their Soveraign.

Yet I had rather suffer all the miseries of life, and die manie deaths, then shamefully to desist, or dishonorably to betraie My own just Rights and Soveraignitie thereby to gratifie their ambition, or justifie the malice of My Enemies; between whose malice, and other mens mistakes, I put as great a difference, as between an ordinarie Ague and the Plague; or the itch of Noveltie, and the Leprosie of Disloyaltie.

As Liars need have good Memories, so Ma-

litious persons need good inventions; that their calumnies may fit everie man's fancie; and, what their repoaches want of truth, they may make up with number and shew.

My patience (I thank God) will better serv Mee to bear, and My charitie to forgive, then My leisure to answer the manie falſ Aſperſions which ſom men have caſt upon Mee.

Did I not more conſider My Subject's Satisfaction, then My own Vindication, I ſhould never have giv'n the malice of ſom men that pleaſure, as to ſee Mee take notice of, or remember what they ſaie, or object.

I would leav the Autors to bee punished by their own evil manners and ſeared Conſciences, which will, I believ, in a ſhorter time then they bee aware of, both confute and revenge all thoſe black and falſ Scandals which they have caſt on Mee; And make the world ſee, there is as little truth in them, as there was little worth in the broaching of them; or Civilitie, (I need not ſaie Loyaltie) in the not-ſuppreſſing of them, whoſe credit and reputation, even with the people, ſhall ere long bee quite blaſted by the breath of that fame fornace of Popular obloquie and detraction, which they have ſtudied to heat and inflame to the higheſt degree of infamie, and wherein they have ſought to caſt and conſume My Name and Honor.

Firſt,

Firſt, nothing gave Mee more cauſ to ſuſpect and ſearch My own Innocencie, then when I obſerved ſo manie forward to engage againſt Mee, who had made great profeſſions of ſingular pietie; For this gave to vulgar mindes ſo bad a reflection upon Mee, and My Cauſ, as if it had been impoſſible to adhere to Mee, and not withal part from God; to think or ſpeak well of Mee, and not to blaſpheme him; ſo manie were perſwaded that theſe two were utterly inconſiſtent, to bee at once Loyall to Mee, and truly Religious toward God.

Not but that I had (I thank God) manie with Mee, which were both Learned and Religious, (much above that ordinarie ſize, and that vulgar proportion, wherein ſom men glorie ſo much) who were ſo well ſatisfied in the cauſ of My ſufferings, that they choſe rather to ſuffer with Mee, then forſake Mee.

Nor is it ſtrange that ſo Religious Pretenſions, as were uſed againſt Mee, ſhould bee to manie well-minded men a great temptation to oppoſe Mee; Eſpecially, beeing urged by ſuch Popular Preachers, as think it no ſin to lie for God, and what they pleaſ to call God's Cauſ, curſing all that will not curſ with them; looking ſo much at, and crying up the goodneſs of the end propounded, that they conſider not the lawfulneſs of the means uſed,

nor the depth of the miſchief, chiefly plotted and intended.

The weakneſs of theſe mens judgments muſt be made up by their clamors & activitie.

It was a great part of ſom mens Religion to ſcandalize Mee and Mine; they thought theirs could not bee true, if they cried not down Mine as falſ.

I thank God, I have had more triall of his grace, as to the conſtancie of My Religion in the Proteſtant Profeſſion of the Church of *England*, both abroad and at home, then ever they are like to have.

Nor do I know anie exception, I am ſo liable to, in their opinion, as too great a fixednes in that Religion, whoſe judicious and ſolid grounds, both from Scripture, and Antiquitie, will not give My Conſcience leav to approov, or conſent to thoſe manie dangerous and divided Innovations, which the bold Ignorance of ſom men would needs obtrude upon Mee, and My People.

Contrarie to thoſe well tried foundations both of Truth, and Order, which men of far greater Learning, and clearer Zeal, have ſettled in the Confeſſion & Conſtitution of this Church in *England*; which manie former Parliaments in the moſt calm, and unpaſſionate times, have oft confirmed; In which I ſhall ever, by Gods help, perſevere, as believing

lieving it hath moſt of Primitive Truth and Order.

Nor did My uſing the aſſiſtance of ſom Papiſts, which were My Subjects, anie waie fight againſt My Religion, as ſom men would needs interpret it: eſpecially thoſe who leaſt of all men cared whom they emploied, or what they ſaid, & did, ſo they might prevail.

'Tis ſtrange that ſo wiſe men, as they would bee eſteemed, ſhould not conceiv, That differences of perſwaſion in matters of Religion may eaſily fal out, where there is the ſameneſs of dutie, Allegiance, and ſubjection. The firſt they own as men, and Chriſtians to God; the ſecond, they owe to Mee in common, as their KING. Different profeſſions in point of Religion cannot (anie more then in civil Trades) take away the communitie of relations either to Parents, or to Princes: And where is there ſuch an *Oglio* or medly of various Religions in the world again, as thoſe men entertain in their ſervice (who finde moſt fault with Mee) without anie ſcruple, as to the diverſitie of their Sects and Opinons?

It was, indeed, a foul and indelible ſhame, for ſuch as would bee counted Proteſtants, to enforce Mee, a declared Proteſtant, their Lord and King, to a neceſſarie uſe of Papiſts, or anie other, who did but their dutie to help Mee to defend My ſelf.

Nor did I more then is lawful for anie King, in ſuch exigents to uſe the aid of anie his Subjects.

I am ſorrie the Papiſts ſhould have a greater ſenſ of their Allegiance, then manie Proteſtant-Profeſſors; who ſeem to have learned, and to practiſe the worſt Principles of the worſt Papiſts.

Indeed, it had been a verie impertinent and unſeaſonable ſcruple in Mee, (and verie pleaſing no doubt to My Enemies) to have been then diſputing the points of different beliefs in My Subjects, when I was diſputed with by Sword's points: and when I needed the help of My Subjects as men, no leſs then their praiers as Chriſtians.

The noiſ of My *Evil Counſellors* was another uſeful deviſe for thoſe, who were impatient anie men's counſels, but their own, ſhould bee followed in Church and State; who were ſo eager in giving Mee better counſel, that they would not give Mee leav to take it with freedom, as a Man; or honor, as a King; making their counſels more like a Drench that muſt bee powred down, then a draught which might bee fairly and leaſurely drunk, if I liked it.

I will not juſtifie, beyond humane errors and frailties My ſelf, or My Counſellors: They might bee ſubject to ſom miſcarriages, yet

yet ſuch as were far more reparable by ſecond and better thoughts, then thoſe enormous extravagances, wherewith ſom men have now even wild'red, and almoſt quite loſt both Church and State.

The event of things at laſt will make it evident to My Subjects, that, had I followed the worſt Counſels, that My worſt Counſellors ever had the boldneſs to offer to Mee, or My ſelf anie inclination to uſe, I could not ſo ſoon have brought both Church and State in three flouriſhing Kingdoms, to ſuch a *Chaos* of confuſions and Hell of miſeries, as ſom have don; out of which they cannot, or will not, in the mid'ſt of their manie great advantages, redeem either Mee or My Subjects.

No Men were more willing to complain, then I was to redreſs what I ſaw in Reaſon was either don or adviſed amiſs; and this I thought I had don, even beyond the expectation of moderate men, who were ſorrie to ſee Mee prone even to injure My ſelf, out of a zeal to reliev My Subjects.

But other men's inſatiable deſire of revenge upon Mee, My Court, and My Clergie, hath wholly beguiled both Church and State, of the benefit of all My, either Retractations, or Conceſſions; and, withal, hath deprived all thoſe (now ſo zealous Perſecutors)

tors) both of the comfort and reward of their former pretended perſecutions, wherein they ſo much gloried among the vulgar; and which, indeed, a truly humble Chriſtian will ſo highly prize, as rather not to bee relieved, then bee revenged, ſo as to bee bereaved of that Crown of Chriſtian Patience, which attend's humble and injured ſufferers.

Another artifice uſed to with-draw My People's affections from Mee, to their deſigns, was, The noiſand oſtentation of *Libertie*, which men are not more prone to deſire, then unapt to bear in the Popular ſenſ; which is to do what everie man liketh beſt.

If the Divineſt libertie bee to will what men ſhould, and to do what they ſo will, according to Reaſon, Laws, and Religion, I envie not My Subjects that libertie, which is all I deſire to enjoie My ſelf; ſo far am I from the deſire of oppreſſing their's: Nor were thoſe Lords and Gentlemen which aſſiſted Mee ſo prodigal of their liberties, as with their Lives and Fortunes to help on the enſlaving of themſelvs and their poſterities.

As to Civil Immunities, none but ſuch as deſire to drive on their Ambitious and Covetous deſigns over the ruines of Church and State, Prince, Peers, and People, will ever deſire greater Freedoms then the Laws allow; whoſe bounds good men count their Orna-

Ornament and Protection; others their Manacles and Oppreſſion.

Nor is it juſt anie man ſhould expect the reward and benefit of the Law, who deſpiſeth it's rule and direction; loſing juſtly his Safetie while hee ſeek's an unreaſonable Libertie.

Time will beſt inform My Subjects, that thoſe are the beſt preſervers of their true Liberties, who allow themſelvs the leaſt licentiouſneſs againſt, or beyond the Laws.

They will feel it at laſt to their coſt, that it is impoſſible thoſe men ſhould bee really tender of their fellow-ſubject's liberties, who have the hardineſs to uſe their King with ſo ſevere reſtraints, againſt all Laws, both Divine and Humane; under which, yet, I will rather periſh, then complain to thoſe, who want nothing to compleat their mirth and triumph, but ſuch muſick.

In point of true conſcientious tenderneſs (attended with humilitie and meekneſs, not with proud & arrogant activitie, which ſeek's to hatch everie egg of different opinion to a Faction or Schiſm) I have oft declared, how little I deſire My Laws and Scepter ſhould intrench on God's Sovereigntie, which is the onely King of men's conſciences, and yet hee hath laid ſuch reſtraints upon men, as command them to bee ſubject for Conſcience

ſake,

ſake, giving no men libertie to break the Law eſtabliſhed, further then with meekneſs and patience they are content to ſuffer the penalties annexed, rather then perturb the Publick Peace.

The truth is, ſom men's thirſt after Novelties, other's deſpair to reliev the neceſſities of their Fortunes, or ſatisfie their Ambition, in peaceable times, (diſtruſting God's providence, as well as their own merits) were the ſecret (but principal) impulſives to theſe Popular Commotions, by which Subjects have been perſwaded to expend much of thoſe plentiful eſtates they got, and enjoied under My Government, in peaceable times; which yet muſt now bee blaſted with all the odious reproaches, which impotent malice can invent; and My ſelf expoſed to all thoſe contempts, which may moſt diminiſh the Majeſtie of a King, and increaſ the ungrateful inſolencies of My People.

For Mine Honor; I am well aſſured, that as Mine Innocencie is clear before God, in point of anie calumnies they object; ſo My Reputation ſhall, like the Sun (after Owls and Bats have had their freedom in the night and darker times) riſe and recover it ſelf to ſuch a degree of ſplendor, as thoſe feral birds ſhall bee grieved to behold, and unable to bear. For never were anie Princes more glorious,

then

then thoſe whom God hath ſuffer'd to bee tried in the fornace of afflictions by their injurious Subjects.

And who know's but the juſt and merciful God will do Mee good, for ſom men's hard, falſ, and evil ſpeaches againſt Mee; wherein they ſpeak rather what they wiſh, then what they believ, or know.

Nor can I ſuffer ſo much in point of Honor, by thoſe rude and ſcandalous Pamphlets (which, like fire, in great conflagrations, flie up and down to ſet all places on like flames) as thoſe men do, who, pretending to ſo much pietie, are ſo forgetful of their Dutie to God and Mee; By no waie ever vindicating the Majeſtie of their KING againſt anie of thoſe, who contrarie to the precept of God, and precedent of Angels, *ſpeak evil of dignities, and bring railing accuſations againſt thoſe,* who are honored with the name of *Gods*.

But 'tis no wonder, if men not fearing God ſhould not Honor their KING.

They will eaſily contemn ſuch ſhadows of God, who reverence not that Supreme, and Adorable Majeſtie, in compariſon of whom all the glorie of Men and Angels is but obſcuritie; yet hath hee graven ſuch Characters of divine Autoritie, and Sacred Power upon Kings, as none may without ſin ſeek to blot them out. Nor ſhall their black veils bee able

to

to hide the ſhining of My face, while God give's Mee a heart frequently and humbly to converſ with him, from whom alone are all the irradiations of true glorie and majeſtie.

Thou, O Lord, knowest My reproach, and My diſhonor, My Adverſaries are all before thee.

My Soul is among lions, among them that are ſet on fire, even the Sons of Men, whoſe teeth are ſpears and arrows, their tongue a ſharp ſword.

Mine enemies reproach Mee all the day long, and thoſe that are mad againſt Mee are ſworn together.

O My God, how long ſhall the ſons of men turn My glorie into ſhame? how long ſhall they love vanitie, and ſeek after lies?

Thou haſt heard the reproaches of wicked men on every ſide. Hold not thy peace, leſt My enemies prevail againſt Mee, and laie Mine Honor in the duſt.

Thou, O Lord, ſhalt deſtroy them that ſpeak lies: the Lord will abhor bath bloud-thirſtie, and deceitful men.

Make My righteouſneſs to appear as the light, and Mine innocencie as the ſhine forth as the Sun at noon-daie.

Suffer not My ſilence to betraie Mine innocencie, nor My diſpleaſure My patience, that, after My Saviors example, beeing reviled, I may not revile again, and, beeing curſed by them, I may bleſs them.

Thou that would'ſt not ſuffer Shimei's *tongue*

to

to go unpunished; when by thy judgments on David hee might seem to justifie his disdainful reproaches, give Mee grace to intercede with thy mercie for these My enemies; that the reward of false and lying tongues, even hot burning coals of eternal fire, may not bee brought upon them.

Let My praiers, and patience, bee as water to cool and quench their tongues, who are alreadie set on fire with the fire of Hell, and tormented with those malitious flames.

Let Mee bee happie to refute, and put to silence their evil-speaking by wel-doing, and let them enjoy not the fruit of their lips, but of My praier for their repentance, and thy pardon.

Teach Mee David's patience and Hezekiah's devotion, that I may look to thy mercie through man's malice, and see thy justice in their sin.

Let Sheba's seditious speeches, Rabshekah's railing, and Shimei's cursing, provoke, as My humble praier to thee, so thy renewed blessing toward Mee.

Though they curse, do thou bless, and I shall bee blessed, and made a blessing to My people.

That the stone, which som builders refuse, may becom the head-stone of the corner.

Look down from heaven, and save Mee, from the reproach of them that would swallow Mee up.

Hide Mee in the secret of thy presence, from the pride of man, and keep Mee from the strife of tongues.

16 Upon

16. *Upon the Ordinance againſt the Common-Praier-Book.*

IT is no news to have all Innovations uſhered in with the name of Reformation in Church and State, by thoſe, who, ſeeking to gain reputation with the Vulgar for their extraordinarie parts and pietie, muſt needs undo what ever was formerly ſettled never ſo well and wiſely.

So hardly can the pride of thoſe that ſtudie Novelties allow former times anie ſhare or degree of wiſdom or godlineſs.

And becauſ matter of praier and devotion to God juſtly bear's a great part in Religion, (beeing the Soul's more immediate converſ with the Divine Majeſtie) nothing could bee more plauſible to the People then to tell them, They ſerved God amiſs in that point.

Hence our publick Liturgie, or Forms of conſtant Praiers muſt bee not amended (in what upon free and publick adviſe might ſeem to ſober men inconvenient for matter or manner, to which I ſhould eaſily conſent) but wholly caſhiered and aboliſhed; and, after manie Popular contempts offered to the Book, and thoſe that uſed it according to their Conſciences and the Laws in force, it muſt bee crucified by an Ordinance, the better

better to pleaſ either thoſe men, who gloried in their extemporarie vein and fluencie; or others, who conſcious to their own formalitie in the uſe of it, thought they fully expiated their ſin of not uſing it aright, by laying all the blame upon it, and a total rejection of it as a dead letter, thereby to excuſe the deadneſs of their hearts.

As for the matter contained in the Book, ſober and learned men have ſufficiently vindicated it againſt the cavils and exceptions of thoſe, who thought it a part of pietie to make what profane objections they could againſt it, eſpecially for Poperie and Superſtition; whereas no doubt the Liturgie was exactly conformed to the doctrine of the Church of *England*; and this by all Reformed Churches is confeſſed to bee moſt ſound and Orthodox.

For the manner of uſing Set and Preſcribed Forms, there is no doubt but that wholſom words, beeing known and fitted to men's underſtandings, are ſooneſt received into their hearts, and apteſt to excite and carrie along with them judicious and fervent affections.

Nor do I ſee anie reaſon why Chriſtians ſhould bee wearie of a well-compoſed Liturgie (as I hold this to bee) more then of all other things, wherein the Conſtancie abate's nothing of the excellencie and uſefulneſs.

I could never ſee anie Reaſon, why anie Chriſtian ſhould abhor, or bee forbidden to uſe the ſame Forms of praier, ſince hee praies to the ſame God, believ's in the ſame Saviour, profeſſeth the ſame Truths, read's the ſame Scriptures, hath the ſame duties upon him, and feel's the ſame dailie wants for the moſt part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure, wee may as well before-hand know what wee praie, as to whom wee praie; and in what words, as to what ſenſ; when wee deſire the ſame things, what hinder's wee may not uſe the ſame words? our appetite and digeſtion too may bee good when wee uſe, as wee praie for, *Our dailie bread.*

Som men, I hear, are ſo impatient not to uſe in all their devotions their own invention and gifts, that they not onely diſ-uſe (as too manie) but wholly caſt away and contemn the *Lord's Praier*; whoſe great guilt is, that it is the warrant and original pattern of all ſet Liturgies in the Chriſtian Church.

I ever thought that the proud oſtentation of men's abilities for invention, and the vain affectations of varietie for expreſſions, in Publick Praier, or anie Sacred Adminiſtrations, merit's a greater brand of ſin, then that which they call Coldneſs and Barrenneſs: Nor are men in thoſe Novelties leſs ſubject to formal and

and ſuperficial tempers (as to their hearts) then in the uſe of conſtant Forms, where not the words, but men's hearts are too blame.

I make no doubt but a man may bee verie formal in the moſt extemporarie varietie; and verie fervently devout in the moſt wonted expreſſions: Nor is God more a God of varietie, then of conſtancie: Nor are conſtant Forms of Praiers more likelie to flat and hinder the Spirit of Praier and Devotion, then un-premeditated and confuſed varietie to diſtract and loſe it.

Though I am not againſt a grave, modeſt, diſcreet, and humble uſe of Miniſter's gifts, even in Publick, the better to fit and excite their own, and the People's affections to the preſent occaſions; yet I know no neceſſitie why private and ſingle abilities ſhould quite juſtle out, and deprive the Church of the joint abilities and concurrent gifts of manie learned and godlie men; ſuch as the Compoſers of the Service-Book were; who may in all reaſon bee thought to have more of gifts & graces enabling them to compoſe with ſerious deliberation & concurrent adviſe, ſuch Forms of praiers, as may beſt fit the Churche's common wants, inform the Hearer's underſtanding, and ſtir up that fiduciarie and fervent application of their ſpirits (wherein conſiſt's the verie life and ſoul of praier, and that ſo

much pretended Spirit of Praier) then anie private man by his ſolitarie abilities can bee preſumed to have; which, what they are manie times (even there, where they made a great noiſ and ſhew) the affectations, emptineſs, impertinencie, rudeneſs, confuſions, flatneſs, levitie, obſcuritie, vain and ridiculous repetitions; the ſenſleſs, and oft-times blaſphemous expreſſions; all theſe burthened with a moſt tedious and intolerable length, do ſufficiently convince all men, but thoſe who glorie in that Phariſaick waie. Wherein men muſt bee ſtrangely impudent, and flatterers of themſelvs, not to have an infinite ſhame of what they ſo do and ſaie, in things of ſo ſacred a nature, before God and the Church, after ſo ridiculous, and, indeed, profane a manner.

Nor can it bee exſpected, but that, in duties of frequent performance, as Sacramental adminiſtrations, and the like, which are ſtill the ſame, Miniſters muſt either com to uſe their own Forms conſtantly, which are not like to bee ſo ſound, or comprehenſive of the nature of the dutie, as forms of Publick compoſure; or elſ they muſt everie time affect new expreſſions when the ſubject is the ſame; which can hardly bee preſumed in anie man's greateſt ſufficiencies not to want (manie times) much of that compleatneſs, order, and gravi-

tie,

tie, becomming thoſe duties; which by this means are expoſed at everie celebration to everie Miniſter's private infirmities, indiſpoſitions, errors, diſorders, and defects, both for judgment, and expreſſion.

A ſerious ſenſ of which inconvenience, in the Church, unavoidably following everie man's ſeveral manner of officiating, no doubt, firſt occaſioned the wiſdom and pietie of the Antient Churches, to remedie thoſe miſchiefs, by the uſe of conſtant Liturgies of Publick compoſure.

The want of which I belie∨ this Church will ſufficiently feel, when the unhappie fruits of manie men's un-govern'd ignorance, and confident defects, ſhall bee diſcovered in more errors, ſchiſms, diſorders, and uncharitable diſtractions in Religion, which are already but too manie, the more pittie.

However, if violence muſt needs bring in, and abett thoſe Innovations, (that men may not ſeem to have nothing to do) which Law, Reaſon, and Religion forbid, at leaſt to be ſo obtruded, as wholly to juſtle out the Publick Liturgie: Yet nothing can excuſe that moſt unjuſt and partial ſeveritie of thoſe men, who either lately had ſubſcribed to, uſed, and maintained the Service book; or, refuſing to uſe it, cried out of the rigor of Laws and Biſhops, which ſuffered them not to uſe the li-

bertie of their Conſciences, in not uſing it.

That theſe men (I ſaie) ſhould ſo ſuddenly change the Liturgie into a *Directorie*, as if the Spirit needed help for invention, though not for expreſſions; or as if matter preſcribed did not as much ſtint and obſtruct the Spirit, as if it were clothed in, and confined to fit words: (So ſlight and eaſie is that Legerdemain which will ſerv to delude the vulgar) That further, they ſhould uſe ſuch ſeveritie as not to ſuffer, without penaltie, anie to uſe the Common-Praier-Book publickly, (although their Conſciences binde them to it, as a Dutie of Pietie to God, and Obedience to the Lawes.) ——————

Thus I ſee, no men are prone to bee greater Tyrants, and more rigorous exacters upon others to conform to their illegal novelties, then ſuch, whoſe pride was formerly leaſt diſpoſed to the obedience of lawful Conſtitutions; and whoſe licentious humors moſt pretended Conſcientious liberties; which freedom, with much regreet, they now allow to Mee, and My Chaplains, (when they may have leav to ſerv Mee;) whoſe abilities, even in their extemporarie waie com's not ſhort of the other's, but their modeſtie and learning far exceed's the moſt of them.

But this matter is of ſo Popular a nature, as ſom men knew it would not bear learned and

ſober

ſober debates, leſt, beeing convinced by the evidence of Reaſon, as well as Laws, they ſhould have been driv'n either to ſin more againſt their knowledg, by taking awaie the Liturgie; or to diſpleaſ ſom faction of the people by continuing the uſe of it.

Though I believ they have offended more conſiderable men, not onely for their numbers and eſtate, but for their weightie and judicious pietie, then thoſe are, whoſe weakneſs or giddineſs they ſought to gratifie by taking it awaie.

One of the greateſt faults ſom men found with the Common-Praier-Book, I believ, was this, That it taught them to praie ſo oft for Mee; to which Petitions they had not Loyaltie enough to ſaie *Amen*, nor yet Charitie enough to forbear Reproaches, and even Curſings of Mee in their own forms, in ſtead of praying for Mee.

I wiſh their Repentance may bee their onely puniſhment; that, ſeeing the miſchiefs which the diſuſe of publick Liturgies hath alreadie produced, they may reſtore that credit, uſe, and reverence to them, which by the antient Churches were giv'n to Set Forms of ſound and wholſom words.

And thou, O Lord, who art the ſame God, bleſſed for ever; whoſe mercies are full of varietie,

and yet of constancie. Thou denyest us not a new and fresh sense of our old and dailie wants; nor despisest renewed affections joined to constant expressions.

Let us not want the benefit of thy Churche's united and wel-advised Devotions.

Let the matters of our praiers bee agreeable to thy will, which is alwaies the same; and the fervencie of our spirits to the motions of thy holie Spirit in us.

And then wee doubt not, but thy spiritual perfections are such, as thou art neither to bee pleased with affected Novelties for matter or manner, nor offended with the pious constancie of our petitions in them both.

Whose varietie or constancie thou hast no where either forbidden, or commanded, but left them to the pretie & prudence of thy Church, that both may bee used, neither despised.

Keep men in that pious moderation of their judgments in matters of Religion, that their ignorance may not offend others, nor their opinion of their own abilities tempt them to deprive others of what they may lawfully and devoutly use, to help their infirmities.

And since the advantage of Error consists in Novelty & varietie, as Truth's in unitie and Constancie; Suffer not thy Church to bee pestered with errors, and deformed with undecencies in thy service, under the pretens of varietie and novelty; Nor to bee deprived of truth, unitie, and order,

under

under this fallacie, That Conſtancie is the Cauſe of Formalitie.

Lord keep us from formal Hypocriſie in our own hearts, and then wee know that praying to thee, or praiſing of thee (with David, *and other holie men) in the ſame forms cannot hurt us.*

Give us wiſdom to amend what is amiſs within us, and there will bee leſs to amend without us.

Evermore defend and deliver thy Church from the effects of blinde zeal, and over-bold devotion.

Of the differences between the KING *and the two Houſes, in point of Church-Government.*

TOuching the GOVERNMENT of the Church by Biſhops, the common Jealouſie hath been, that I am earneſt and reſolute to maintain it, not ſo much out of Pietie, as Policie and reaſon of State.

Wherein ſo far indeed reaſon of State doth induce Mee to approve that Government above anie other, as I finde it impoſſible for a Prince to preſerv the State in quiet, unleſs hee hath ſuch an influence upon Church-men; and they ſuch a dependance on Him, as may beſt reſtrain the ſeditious exorbitancies of Miniſters

Miniſters tongues; who with the Keies of Heaven have ſo far the Keies of the People's hearts, as they prevail much by their Oratorie to let in, or ſhut out, both Peace and Loyaltie.

So that, beeing (as KING) entruſted by God, and the Laws, with the good both of Church and State, I ſee no Reaſon I ſhould give up, or weaken, by anie change, that power and influence which in right and reaſon I ought to have over both.

The mooving Biſhops out of the Houſ of Peers (of which I have elſwhere given an account) was ſufficient to take off anie ſuſpicion, that I incline to them for anie uſe to bee made of their Votes in State-affairs: Though indeed I never thought anie Biſhop worthie to ſit in that Houſ, who would not Vote according to his Conſcience.

I muſt now in Charitie bee thought deſirous to preſerv that Government in its right conſtitution, as a matter of Religion, wherein both My judgment is fully ſatisfied, that it hath of all other the fulleſt Scripture-grounds, & alſo the conſtant practice of all Chriſtian Churches; til, of late years, the tumultuarineſs of People, or the factiouſneſs and pride of Presbyters, or the covetouſneſs of ſom States and Princes, gave occaſion to ſom men's wits to invent new models, and propoſe them under ſpecious titles of *Chriſt's Government, Scepter,*

Scepter, and *Kingdom*, the better to serv their turns, to whom the change was beneficial.

They muſt give Mee leav, having none of their temptations to invite Mee to alter the Government of Biſhops, (that I may have a title to their Eſtates) not to believ their pretended grounds to anie new waies; contrarie to the full, and conſtant teſtimonie of all Hiſtories, ſufficiently convincing unbiaſſed men; that as the Primitive Churches were undoubtedly governed by the Apoſtles and their immediate Succeſſors the firſt & beſt Biſhops, ſo it cannot in reaſon or charitie bee ſuppoſed, that all Churches in the world ſhould either bee ignorant of the Rule by them preſcribed, or ſo ſoon deviate from their divine and holie pattern: That ſince the firſt Age, for 1500 years, not one Example can bee produced of anie ſettled Church, wherein were manie Miniſters and Congregations, which had not ſom Biſhop above them, under whoſe juriſdiction and government they were.

Whoſe conſtant and univerſal practiſe agreeing with ſo large and evident Scripture-directions & examples, as are ſet down in the Epiſtles to *Timothie* and *Titus*, for the ſettling of that Government, not in the perſons onely of *Timothie* and *Titus*, but in the ſucceſſion; the

(the want of Government beeing that, which the Church can no more diſpenſ with, in point of wel-beeing, then the want of the Word and Sacraments, in point of beeing.) I wonder how men came to look with ſo envious an eie upon Biſhop's power and autoritie, as to overſee both the Eccleſiaſtical uſe of them, and Apoſtolical conſtitution; which to Mee ſeem's no leſs evidently ſet forth, as to the main ſcope and deſign of thoſe Epiſtles, for the ſettling of a peculiar Office, Power, and Autoritie in them as Preſident-Biſhops above others, in point of Ordination, Cenſures, and other Acts of Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline: then thoſe ſhorter characters of the qualities & duties of Presbyter-Biſhops, and Deacons, are deſcribed in ſom' parts of the ſame Epiſtles; who in the latitude and communitie of the name were then, and may now not improperly be call'd *Biſhops*: as to the over-ſight and care of ſingle Congregations, committed to them by the Apoſtles, or other Apoſtolical Biſhops, who (as *Timothie* and *Titus*) ſucceeded them in that ordinarie power, there aſſigned over large diviſions, in which were manie Presbyters.

The humilitie of thoſe firſt Biſhops avoiding the eminent title of Apoſtles, as a name in the Churche's ſtyle appropriated from its common notion (*of a Meſſenger, or one ſent*) to

that

that ſpecial dignitie which hath extraordinarie call, miſſion, gifts, and power immediately from Chriſt; they contented themſelvs with the ordinarie titles of Biſhops and Preſbyters, until *Uſe* (the great Arbitrator of words, and Maſter of language) findeing reaſon to diſtinguiſh, by a peculiar name, thoſe perſons, whoſe power and office were indeed diſtinct from, and above all other in the Church, as ſucceeding the Apoſtles in the ordinarie and conſtant power of governing the Churches, (the honor of whoſe name they modeſtly, yet commendably declined, all Chriſtian Churches ſubmitting to that ſpecial autoritie) appropriated alſo the name of *Biſhop*, without anie ſuſpicion or reproach of arrogancie, to thoſe, who were by Apoſtolical propagation rightly deſcended and inveſted into that higheſt and largeſt power of governing even the moſt pure and Primitive Churches: which, without all doubt, had manie ſuch holie Biſhops, after the pattern of *Timothie* and *Titus*; whoſe ſpecial power is not more clearly ſet down in thoſe Epiſtles (the chief grounds and limits of all Epiſcopal claim, as from Divine right) then are the characters of theſe perilous times, and thoſe men that make them ſuch; who, not enduring ſound doctrine and clear teſtimonies of all Churche's practice, are moſt perverſ Diſputers,

ters, and proud Uſurpers, againſt true Epiſcopacie: who, if they bee not Traitors and Boaſters, yet they ſeem to bee verie covetous, headie, high-minded, inordinate and fierce, lovers of themſelvs, having much of the form, little of the power of Godlineſs.

Who, by Popular heaps of weak, light, and unlearned Teachers, ſeek to overlaie and ſmother the pregnancie and autoritie of that power of Epiſcopal Government, which, beyond all equivocation and vulgar fallacie of names, is moſt convincingly ſet forth, both by Scripture, and all after-Hiſtories of the Church.

This I write rather like a Divine, then a Prince; that Poſteritie may ſee (if ever theſe Papers bee publick) that I had fair grounds both from Scripture-Canons, and Eccleſiaſtical Examples, whereon My judgment was ſtated for Epiſcopal Government.

Nor was it anie Policie of State, or obſtinacie of will, or partialitie of affection, either to the men, or their Function, which fixed Mee; who cannot in point of worldlie reſpects be ſo conſiderable to Mee, as to recompenſ the injuries and loſſes I, and My deareſt relations with My Kingdoms, have ſuſtained and hazarded, chiefly at firſt upon this Quarrel.

And not onely in Religion, of which Scripture

pture is the beſt Rule, & the Churche's Univerſal practiſe the beſt Commentarie, but alſo in right reaſon, and the true nature of Government, it cannot bee thought that an orderlie Subordination among Presbyters or Miniſters, ſhould bee anie more againſt Chriſtianitie, then it is in all Secular and Civil Governments, where Paritie breed's Confuſion and Faction.

I can no more believ, that ſuch order is inconſiſtent with true Religion, then good features are with beautie, or numbers with harmonie.

Nor is it likelie that God, who appointed ſeveral Orders, and a Prelacie, in the Government of his Church amongſt the Jewiſh Prieſts, ſhould abhor, or forbid them among Chriſtian Miniſters; who have as much of the Principles of Schiſm and Diviſion, as other men; for preventing and ſuppreſſing of which, the Apoſtolical wiſdom (which was Divine) after that Chriſtians were multiplied to manie Congregations, and Presbyters with them, appointed this waie of Government, which might beſt preſerv Order and Union with Autoritie.

So that I conceiv it was not the favor of Princes, or ambition of Presbyters, but the wiſdom and pietie of the Apoſtles, that firſt ſettled Biſhops in the Church; which Autoritie

ritie they conſtantly uſed and enjoied in thoſe times, which were pureſt for Religion, though ſharpeſt for Perſecution.

Not that I am againſt the managing of this Preſidencie and Autoritie in one man, by the joint-Counſel and conſent of manie Presbyters: I have offered to reſtore that, as a fit means to avoid thoſe Errors, Corruptions, and Partialities which are incident to anie one man: alſo to avoid Tyrannie, which becom's no Chriſtians, leaſt of all Church-men; beſides, it will bee a means to take away that Burden and *Odium* of Affairs, which may lie too heavie on one man's ſhoulders; as, indeed, I think it formerly did on the Biſhop's here.

Nor can I ſee what can bee more agreeable both to Reaſon and Religion, then ſuch a frame of Government which is Paternal, not Magiſterial; and wherein not onely the neceſſitie of avoiding Faction and Confuſion, Emulations and Contempts, which are prone to ariſe among equals in power and function; but alſo the difference of ſom Miniſter's gifts, and aptitudes for Government above others, doth invite to emploie them, in reference to their Abilities, wherein they are eminent.

Nor is this judgment of Mine, touching Epiſcopacie, anie pre-occupation of opinion, which will not admit anie oppoſitions againſt it:

it: It is well known I have endevoured to ſatisfie My ſelf in what the chief Patrons for other waies can ſaie againſt this, or for their's: And I finde, as they have far leſs of Scripture-grounds, and of Reaſon, ſo of examples, and practice of the Church, or teſtimonies of Hiſtories they are wholly deſtitute; wherein the whole ſtream run's ſo for Epiſcopacie, that there is not the leaſt rivulet for anie others.

As for thoſe obtruded examples of ſom late reformed Churches, (for manie retein Biſhops ſtill) whom neceſſitie of times and affairs rather excuſeth, then commendeth for their inconformitie to all Antiquitie; I could never ſee anie reaſon why Churches orderly reformed and governed by Biſhops ſhould bee forced to conform to thoſe few, rather then to the Catholick example of all Antient Churches, which needed no Reformation: And thoſe Churches at this daie, who, Governed by Biſhops in the Chriſtian world, are manie more then Presbyterians or Independents can pretend to bee; All whom the Churches in My three Kingdoms lately governed by Biſhops, would equalize, (I think) if not exceed.

Nor is it anie point of wiſdom or charitie, where Chriſtians differ, (as manie do in ſom points) there to widen the differences, and at once to give all the Chriſtian world (except a

handfull of ſom Proteſtants) ſo great a ſcandall in point of Church-government; whom, though you may convince them of their Errors in ſom points of Doctrine, yet you ſhall never perſwade, that, to compleet their Reformation, they muſt neceſſarily deſert, and wholly caſt off that Government, which they, and all before them have ever owned as Catholick, Primitive, and Apoſtolical: So far, that never Schiſmaticks, nor Hereticks, (except thoſe Aërians) have ſtraied from the Unitie, and Conformitie of the Church in that point; ever having Biſhops above Presbyters.

Beſides, the late general approbation and ſubmiſſion to this Government of Biſhops, by the Clergie, as well as the Laitie of theſe Kingdoms, is a great confirmation of My Judgment; and their inconſtancie is a great prejudice againſt their Noveltie; I cannot in charitie ſo far doubt of their learning or integritie, as if they underſtood not what heretofore they did, or that they did conform contrarie to their Conſciences; So that their facilitie and levitie is never to bee excuſed, who, before ever the point of Church-government had anie free and impartial debate, contrarie to their former Oaths and practice, againſt their obedience to the Laws in force, and againſt My conſent, have not only quite cried down

down the government by Biſhops; but have approoved and incouraged the violent and moſt illegal ſtripping all the Biſhops, and manie other Church-men, of all their due Autoritie and Revenues, even to the ſelling awaie, and utter alienation of thoſe Church-lands from anie Eccleſiaſtical uſes: So great a power hath the ſtream of times, and the prevalencie of parties, over ſom men's judgments; of whoſe ſo ſudden and ſo total change little reaſon can bee giv'n, beſides the *Scot*'s Armie comming into *England*.

But the follie of theſe men will at laſt puniſh it ſelf, and the Deſertors of Epiſcopacie will appear the greateſt Enemies to, and betraiers of their own intereſt: for Presbyterie is never ſo conſiderable, or effectual, as when it is joined to, and crowned with Epiſcopacie. All Miniſters will finde as great a difference, in point of thriving, between the favor of the People, and of Princes, as plants do between beeing watered by hand, or by the ſweet and liberal dews of Heaven.

The tenuitie and contempt of Clergie-men will ſoon let them ſee, what a poor carcaſs they are, when parted from the influence of that Head, to whoſe Supremacie they have been ſworn.

A little moderation might have prevented great miſchiefs; I am firm to Primitive

Episcopacie, not to have it extirpated, (if I can hinder it.) Discretion without passion might easily reform, whatever the rust of times, or indulgence of Laws, or corruption of manners have brought upon it. It beeing a gross vulgar error to impute to, or revenge upon the Function, the faults of times, or persons; which seditious and popular principle and practice all wise men abhor.

For those secular additaments and ornaments of Autoritie, Civil Honor, and Estate, which My Predecessors, and Christian Princes in all Countries have annexed to Bishops and Church men; I look upon them, but as just rewards of their learning and pietie, who are fit to bee in anie degree of Church-Government; also enablements to works of Charitie & Hospitalitie; meet strengthenings of their Autoritie in point of respect and observance; which in peaceful times is hardly paied to anie Governors by the measure of their virtues, so much as by that of their Estates: Povertie and meanness exposing them and their Autoritie to the contempt of licentious mindes and manners, which persecuting Times much restrained.

I would have such men Bishops, as are most worthie of those incouragements, and best able to use them: if at anie time My judgment of men failed, My good intention made My

error

error venial: and ſom Biſhops, I am ſure, I had, whoſe learning, gravitie, and pietie, no men of anie worth or forehead can denie: but, of all men, I would have Church-men, eſpecially the Governors, to bee redeemed from that vulgar neglect; which (beſides an innate principle of vitious oppoſition, which is in all men againſt thoſe that ſeem to reproov, or reſtrain them) will neceſſarily follow both the Presbyterian paritie, which make's all Miniſters equal; and the Independent inferioritie, which ſet's their Paſtors below the People.

This for My judgment touching Epiſcopacie: wherein (God know's) I do not gratifie anie deſign or paſſion with the leaſt perverting of Truth.

And now I appeal to God above, and all the Chriſtian world, whether it bee juſt for Subjects, or pious for Chriſtians, by violence and infinite indignities, with ſervile reſtraints to ſeek to force Mee their KING and Sovereign, as ſom men have endevoured to do, againſt all theſe grounds of My judgment, to conſent to their weak and divided Novelties.

The greateſt Pretender of them deſire's not more then I do, That the Church ſhould bee governed, as Chriſt hath appointed, in true Reaſon, and in Scripture; in which I could never ſee anie probable ſhew for anie other waies: who either content themſelvs with

the examples of ſom Churches in their infancie and ſolitude, when one Presbyter might ſerv one Congregation in the Cittie or Countrie; or elſ denie theſe moſt evident Truths, That the Apoſtles were Biſhops over thoſe Presbyters they ordained, as well as over the Churches they planted; and that Government beeing neceſſarie for the Churche's welbeeing, when multiplied and ſociated, muſt alſo neceſſarily deſcend from the Apoſtles to others, after the example of that power and ſuperioritie they had above others; which could not end with their perſons; ſince the uſe and ends of ſuch Government ſtill continue.

It is moſt ſure, that the pureſt, primitive, and beſt Churches flouriſhed under Epiſcopacie; and may ſo ſtill, if ignorance, ſuperſtition, avarice, revenge, and other diſorderlie and diſloyal paſſions had not ſo blown up ſom men's mindes againſt it, that, what they want of Reaſon or Primitive Patterns, they ſupplie with violence and oppreſſion; wherein ſom men's zeal for Biſhop's-Land, Houſes, and Revenues hath ſet them on work to eat up Epiſcopacie: which (however other men eſteem) to Mee is no leſs ſin, then Sacriledg; or a robberie of God (the giver of all wee have) of that portion which devout mindes have thankfully given again to him, in giving it to his

his Church and Prophets; through whoſe hands hee gratiouſly accept's even a cup of cold water, as a libation offered to himſelf.

Furthermore, as to My particular engagement above other men, by an Oath agreeable to My judgment, I am ſolemnly obliged to preſerv that Government, and the Rights of the Church.

Were I convinced of the unlawfulneſs of the Function, as Antichriſtian, (which ſom men boldly, but weakly calumniate) I could ſoon, with Judgment, break that Oath, which erroneouſly was taken by Mee.

But beeing daily, by the beſt diſquiſition of truth, more confirmed in the Reaſon and Religion of that to which I am Sworn; how can anie man that wiſheth not My damnation, perſwade Mee at once to ſo notorious and combined ſins, of Sacriledg and Perjurie? beſides the manie perſonal Injuſtices I muſt do to manie worthie men, who are as legally inveſted in their Eſtates, as anie, who ſeek to deprive them; and they have by no Law been convicted of thoſe crimes, which might forfeit their Eſtates and Livelie-hoods.

I have oft wondred how men pretending to tenderneſs of Conſcience, and Reformation, can at once tell Mee, that My Coronation-Oath bind's Mee to Conſent to whatſoever they ſhall propound to Mee, (which they urge

with ſuch violence) though contrarie to all that Rational and Religious freedom which everie man ought to preſerv; and of which they ſeem ſo tender in their own Votes; yet, at the ſame time, theſe men will needs perſwade Mee, That I muſt, and ought to diſpenſ with, and roundly break that part of My Oath, which binde's Mee (agreeable to the beſt light of Reaſon and Religion I have) to maintain the Government and legal Rights of the Church. 'Tis ſtrange, My Oath ſhould bee valid in that part, which both My ſelf and all men in their own caſe, eſteem injurious and unreaſonable, as beeing againſt the verie natural and eſſential libertie of our ſouls; yet it ſhould bee invalid, and to bee broken in another clauſ, wherein I think My ſelf juſtly obliged, both to God, and Man.

Yet upon this Rack chiefly have I been held ſo long, by ſom men's ambitious Covetouſneſs and Sacrilegious Crueltie, torturing (with Mee) both Church and State, in Civil diſſenſions; till I ſhall bee forced to conſent, and declare that I do approov, what (God know's) I utterly diſlike, and in My Soul abhorr; as manie waies highly againſt Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion: and whereto if I ſhould ſhamefully and diſhonorably give My conſent, yet ſhould I not, by ſo doing, ſatisfie the divided Intereſts and Opinions of thoſe Parties,

Parties, which contend with each other, as well as both againſt Mee, and Epiſcopacie.

Nor can My late condeſcending to the Scots, in point of Church-government, bee rightly objected againſt Mee, as an inducement for Mee to conſent to the like in My other Kingdoms: For it ſhould bee conſidered that Epiſcopacie was not ſo rooted and ſettled there, as 'tis here; nor I (in that reſpect) ſo ſtrictly bound to continue it in that Kingdom, as in this; for, what I think in My judgment beſt, I may not think ſo abſolutely-neceſſarie for all places, and at all times.

If anie ſhall impute My yielding to them, as My failing and ſin, I can eaſily acknowledg it; but that is no argument to do ſo again, or much worſ; I beeing now more convinced in that point: nor indeed hath My yielding to them been ſo happie and ſucceſsful as to encourage Mee to grant the like to others.

Did I ſee anie thing more of Chriſt, as to Meekneſs, Juſtice, Order, Charitie, and Loyaltie in thoſe that pretend to other *modes* of Government, I might ſuſpect My judgment to bee biaſſed, or fore-ſtalled with ſom prejudice and wontedneſs of opinion; but I have hitherto ſo much cauſ to ſuſpect the contrarie in the manners of manie of thoſe men, that I cannot from them gain the leaſt reputation for

for their new waies of Government.

Nor can I finde that in anie Reformed Churches (whose patterns are so cried up and obtruded upon the Churches under My Dominion) either Learning or Religion, works of Pietie or Charitie, have so flouriſhed beyond what they have don in My Kingdoms (by God's bleſſing) which might make Mee believ either Presbyterie or Independencie have a more benign influence upon the Church and men's hearts and lives, then Epiſcopacie in it's right Conſtitution.

The abuſes of which, deſerv to bee extirpated, as much as the uſe retained; for I think it far better to hold to Primitive and Uniform Antiquitie, then to complie with divided Noveltie.

A right Epiſcopacie would at once ſatisfie all juſt deſires and intereſts of good Biſhops, humble Presbyters, and ſober People; ſo as Church-affairs ſhould bee managed, neither with Tyrannie, Paritie, nor Popularitie; neither Biſhops ejected, nor Presbyters deſpiſed, nor People oppreſſed.

And in this integritie, both of My Judgment and Conſcience, I hope God will preſerv Mee.

For Thou, O Lord, knoweſt my uprightneſs and tenderneſs; as thou haſt ſet Mee to bee a Defendor

dor of the Faith, *and a Protector of thy Church*; *ſo ſuffer Mee not, by anie violence, to bee over-born againſt My Conſcience.*

Ariſe, O Lord, maintain thine own Cauſ; let not thy Church bee deformed, as to that Government, which, derived from thy Apoſtles, hath been reteined in pureſt and primitive Times, till the Revenues of the Church became the object of Secular envie; which ſeek's to rob it of all the encouragements of Learning and Religion.

Make Mee, as the good Samaritan, compaſſionate, and helpful to thy afflicted Church; which ſom men have wounded and robbed; others paſs by without regard, either to pittie, or reliev.

As My power is from thee, ſo give Mee grace to uſe it for thee.

And though I am not ſuffered to bee Maſter of My other Rights, as a KING; *yet preſerv Mee in that libertie of Reaſon, love of Religion, and thy Churche's welfare, which are fixed in My Conſcience, as a Chriſtian.*

Preſerv, from Sacrilegious invaſions, thoſe temporal bleſſings, which thy Providence hath beſtowed on thy Church for thy glorie.

Forgive their ſins and errors, who have deſerved thy juſt permiſſion, thus to let in the wilde Boar and ſubtil Foxes, to waſte and deform thy Vineyard, which thy right hand hath planted, and the dew of Heaven ſo long watered to a happie and flouriſhing eſtate.

O Let

O Let Mee not bear the infamous brand to all Poſteritie, of beeing the firſt Chriſtian King in this Kingdom, who ſhould conſent to the oppreſsion of thy Church, and the Fathers of it; whoſe errors I would rather, with Conſtantine, *cover with ſilence, and reform with meekneſs, then expoſe their Perſons, and ſacred Functions, to vulgar contempt.*

Thou, O Lord, ſee'ſt how much I have ſuffered with, and for thy Church; make no long tarrying O my God, to deliver both Mee, and it, from unreaſonable men; whoſe counſels have brought forth, and continue ſuch violent confuſions, by a precipitant deſtroying the antient boundaries of thy Churche's peace; thereby letting in all manner of errors, ſchiſms, and diſorders.

O thou God of Order, and of truth, in thy good time, abate the malice, aſſwage the rage, and confound all the miſchievous deviſes of thine, mine, and thy Churche's enemies:

That I, and all that love thy Church, may ſing praiſes to thee, and ever magnifie thy ſalvation, even before the ſons of men.

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18. *Upon* Uxbridg-*Treatie, and other Offers made by the* King.

I Look upon the waie of Treaties, as a retiring from fighting like Beaſts, to arguing like Men; whoſe ſtrength ſhould bee more in their underſtandings, then in their limbs.

And

And though I could ſeldom get opportunities to Treat, yet I never wanted either deſire or diſpoſition to it; having greater confidence of My Reaſon, then My Sword: I was ſo wholly reſolved to yeeld to the firſt, that I thought neither My ſelf, nor others, ſhould need to uſe the ſecond, if once wee rightly underſtood each other.

Nor did I ever think it a diminution of Mee, to prevent them with Expreſſes of My deſires, and even importunities to Treat: It beeing an office, not onely of humanitie, rather to uſe Reaſon, then Force; but alſo of Chriſtianitie, to *ſeek peace and enſue it*.

As I was verie unwillingly compell'd to defend My ſelf with Arms; ſo I verie willingly imbraced anie thing tending to peace.

The events of all War by the Sword beeing verie dubious; and of a Civil War, uncomfortable; the end hardly recompenſing, and late repairing the miſchief of the means.

Nor did anie ſucceſs I had ever enhance with Mee the price of Peace, as earneſtly deſired by Mee as anie man; though I was like to paie dearer for it, then anie man: All that I ſought to reſerv, was Mine Honor, and My Conſcience; the one I could not part with, as a KING; the other, as a Chriſtian.

The Treatie at *Uxbridg* gave the faireſt hopes of an happie compoſure; had others applied

applied themſelvs to it with the ſame moderation, as I did, I am confident the War had then ended.

I was willing to condeſcend, as far as Reaſon, Honor, and Conſcience, would give Mee leav; nor were the remaining differences ſo eſſential to My People's happineſs; or of ſuch conſequence, as in the leaſt kinde to have hindered My Subject's either ſecuritie, or proſperitie; for they better enjoyed both, manie years, before ever thoſe demands were made; ſom of which to denie, I think the greateſt Juſtice to My ſelf, and favor to My Subjects.

I ſee, Jealouſies are not ſo eaſily allaied, as they are raiſed: Som men are more afraid to retreat from violent Engagements, then to Engage: what is wanting in equitie, muſt bee made up in pertinacie. Such as had little to enjoie in peace, or to loſe in war, ſtudied to render the verie Name of *Peace* odious and ſuſpected.

In Church-affairs, where I had leaſt libertie of prudence, having ſo manie ſtrict Ties of Conſcience upon Mee, yet I was willing to condeſcend ſo far to the ſettling of them, as might have given fair ſatisfaction to all men, whom faction, covetouſneſs, or ſuperſtition had not engaged more, then anie true zeal, charitie, or love of Reformation.

I was

I was content to yeeld to all that might ſeem to advance true pietie; I onely ſought to continue what was neceſſarie in point of Order, Maintenance, and Autoritie to the Churche's Government, and what I am perſwaded (as I have elſwhere ſet down My thoughts more fully) is moſt agreeable to the true Principles of all Government, raiſed to its full ſtature and perfection; as alſo to the Primitive-Apoſtolical pattern, and the practice of the Univerſal Church conformed thereto.

From which wholly to recede, without anie probable reaſon urged or anſwered, onely to ſatisfie ſom men's wils and phantaſies (which yet agree not among themſelvs in anie point, but that of extirpating Epiſcopacie, and fighting againſt Mee) muſt needs argue ſuch a ſoftneſs, and infirmitie of minde in Mee, as will rather part with God's Truth, then Man's Peace, and rather loſe the Churche's honor, then croſs ſom men's Factious humors.

God know's, and time will diſcover, who were moſt too blame for the un-ſuccesfulneſs of that Treatie, & who muſt bear the guilt of after-calamities. I believ, I am verie excuſable both before God, and all unpaſſionate men, who have ſeriouſly weighed thoſe tranſactions, wherein I endevoured no leſs the reſtauration of Peace to My people, then the preſervation

vation of My own Crowns to My poſteritie.

Som men have that height, as to interpret all fair Condeſcendings, as Arguments of feebleneſs; and glorie moſt in an unflexible ſtifneſs, when they ſee others moſt ſupple and inclinable to them.

A grand Maxim with them was alwaies to ask ſomthing, which in reaſon and honor muſt bee denied, that they might have ſom color to refuſe all that was in other things granted; ſetting Peace at as high a rate, as the worſt effects of War; endevouring firſt to make Mee deſtroie My ſelf by diſhonorable conceſſions, that ſo they might have the leſs to do.

This was all which that Treatie, or anie other produced, to let the world ſee, how little I would denie, or they grant, in order to the Publick Peace.

That it gave occaſion to ſom men's further reſtiveneſs, is imputable to their own depraved tempers, not to anie Conceſſions, or Negations of Mine: I have alwaies the content of what I offered; and they the regreet and blame for what they refuſed.

The higheſt tide of ſucceſs ſet Mee not above a Treatie; nor the loweſt ebb below a Fight: Though I never thought it anie ſign of true valour to bee prodigal of men's lives, rather

ther then to bee drawn to produce our own reaſons, or ſubſcribe to other men's.

That which made Mee for the moſt part preſage the unſuccesfulneſs of anie Treatie, was, ſom men's unwillingneſs to Treat: which implied ſom things were to bee gained by the Sword, whoſe unreaſonableneſs they were loth to have fairly ſcanned, beeing more proper to bee acted by Souldiers, then by Counſellors.

I praie God forgive them that were guiltie of that Treatie's-breaking; and give them grace to make their advantages gotten by the Sword a better opportunitie to uſe ſuch moderation, as was then wanting; that ſo though Peace were for our ſins juſtly deferred, yet at laſt it may bee happily obtein'd; what wee could not get by our Treaties, wee may gain by our Praiers.

O Thou, that art the God of Reaſon, and of Peace, who diſdaineſt not to Treat with Sinners, preventing them with offers of atonement, and beſeeching them to bee reconciled with thy ſelf; who wanteſt not power, or juſtice, to deſtroie them, yet aboundeſt in mercie to ſave; ſoften our hearts by the blood of our Redeemer, and perſwade us to accept of Peace with thy ſelf, and both to procure and preſerv Peace among our ſelves, as Men and Chriſtians. How oft have I intreated for Peace! but

when I ſpeak thereof, they make them readie to War.

Condemn us not to our paſsions, which are deſtructive both of our ſelvs, and of others.

Clear up our underſtandings to ſee thy Truth, both in Reaſon, as Men; and in Religion, as Chriſtians: and incline all our hearts to hold the unitie of the Spirit in the bond of Peace.

Take from us that enmitie which is now in our hearts againſt thee: and give us that charitie which ſhould bee among our ſelvs.

Remove the evils of War wee have deſerved, and beſtow upon us that Peace, which onely Chriſt our great Peace-maker can merit.

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19. *Upon the various events of the War, Victories, and Defeats.*

THe various Succeſſes of this unhappie war have, at leaſt, afforded Mee varietie of good Meditations: ſometimes God was pleaſed to trie Mee with victorie, by worſting My Enemies, that I might know how with moderation and thanks to own, and uſe his power, who is onely the true *Lord of Hoſts*; able when he pleaſe's to repreſs the confidence of thoſe, that fought againſt Mee, with ſo great advantages for power and number.

From ſmall beginnings on My part hee let Mee

Mee ſee that I was not wholly forſaken by My people's love, or his protection.

Other times God was pleaſed to exerciſe My patience, and teach Mee not to truſt in the arm of Fleſh, but in the living God.

My ſins ſomtimes prevailed againſt the juſtice of My cauſ: and thoſe that were with Mee wanted not matter and occaſion for his juſt chaſtiſement both of them, and Mee: Nor were My enemies leſs puniſhed by that proſperitie, which hardened them to continue that injuſtice by open hoſtilitie, which was begun by moſt riotous and unparliamentarie Tumults.

There is no doubt but perſonal and private ſins may oft-times over-balance the Juſtice of Publick engagements; nor doth God account everie gallant Man (in the world's eſteem) a fit inſtrument to aſſert in the waie of War a righteous Cauſ; The more men are prone to arrogate to their own skill, valor and ſtrength, the leſs doth God ordinarily work by them for his own glorie.

I am ſure the event or ſucceſs can never ſtate the Juſtice of anie Cauſ, nor the peace of men's Conſciences, nor the eternal fate of their Souls.

Thoſe with Mee had (I think) clearly and undoubtedly, for their Juſtification, the Word of God, and the Laws of the Land, together

with their own Oaths; all requiring obedience to My just Commands; but to none other under Heaven without Mee, or against mee, in the point of raising Arms.

Those on the other side are forced to flie to the shifts of som pretended Fears, and wilde fundamentals of State (as they call them) which actually overthrow the present fabrick both of Church and State; beeing such imaginarie Reasons for self-defence as are most impertinent for those men to alledg, who, beeing My Subjects, were manifestly the first assaulters of Mee and the Laws: first by unsuppressed Tumults, after by listed Forces. The same Allegations, they use, will fit anie Faction, that hath but power and confidence enough, to second with the sword all their demands against the present Laws and Governors; which can never bee such as som side or other will not finde fault with, so as to urge what they call a Reformation of them to a Rebellion against them, som parasitick Preachers have dared to call those *Martyrs*, who died fighting against Mee, the Laws, their Oaths, and the Religion Established.

But sober Christians know, That glorious Title can with Truth bee applied onely to those, who sincerely preferred God's Truth, and their dutie in all these particulars before their lives, and all that was dear to them in this

this world; who, having no advantageous designs by anie Innovation, were religiously sensible of those Ties to God, the Church, and My self, which laie upon their Souls, both for obedience and just assistance.

God could, and I doubt not but hee did through his mercie, crown manie of them with eternal life, whose lives were lost in so just a Cause; The destruction of their bodies being sanctified, as a means to save their souls.

Their wounds and temporal ruine serving as a gratious opportunitie for their eternal health and happiness; while the evident approach of death did, through God's grace, effectually dispose their hearts to such Humilitie, Faith, and Repentance, which together with the Rectitude of their present engagement, would fully prepare them for a better life then that, which their enemie's brutish & disloyal fierceness could deprive them of; or, without Repentance, hope to enjoie.

They have often, indeed, had the better against My side in the field; but never, I believ, at the Bar of God's Tribunal, or their own Consciences; where they are more afraid to encounter those manie pregnant Reasons, both from Law, Allegiance, and all true Christian grounds, which conflict *with*, and accuse them *in* their own thoughts, then they oft were, in a desperate braverie, to fight against those

Forces, which ſomtimes God gave Mee.

Whoſe condition conquered, and dying, I make no queſtion, but is infinitely more to bee choſen by a ſober man, (that duely value's his dutie, his ſoul, and eternitie, beyond the enjoiments of this preſent life) then the moſt triumphant glorie, wherein their and Mine Enemies ſupervive; who can hardly avoid to bee daily tormented by that horrid guilt, wherewith their ſuſpicious, or now convicted Conſciences do purſue them; eſpecially ſince they and all the world have ſeen, how falſ and un-intended thoſe pretenſions were, which they firſt ſet forth, as the onely plauſible (though not juſtifiable) grounds of raiſing a War, and continuing it thus long againſt Mee and the Laws eſtabliſhed; in whoſe ſafetie and preſervation all honeſt men think the welfare of their Countrie doth conſiſt.

For, and with, all which, it is far more honorable and comfortable to ſuffer, then to proſper in their ruine and ſubverſion.

I have often praied, that all on My ſide might join true pietie with the ſenſ of their Loyaltie; and bee as faithful to God and their own ſouls, as they were to Mee. That the defects of the one might not blaſt the endevours of the other.

Yet I cannot think, that anie ſhews, or truth of pietie on the other ſide were ſufficient to

diſpenſ

diſpenſ with, or expiate the defects of their Dutie and Loyaltie to Mee, which have ſo pregnant convictions on men's Conſciences, that even profaner men are mooved by the ſenſ of them to venture their Lives for Mee.

I never had anie victorie which was without My ſorrow, becauſ it was on Mine own Subjects, who, like *Abſolom*, died manie of them in their ſin: And yet I never ſuffered anie Defeat, which made Mee deſpair of God's mercie and defence.

I never deſired ſuch Victories, as might ſerv to conquer, but onely reſtore the Laws and Liberties of My People, which I ſaw were extremely oppreſſed together with My Rights by thoſe men, who were impatient of anie juſt reſtraint.

When Providence gave Mee, or denied Mee Victorie, My deſire was neither to boaſt of My power, nor to charge God fooliſhly; who I believed at laſt would make all things work together for My good.

I wiſhed no greater advantages by the War, then to bring My Enemies to moderation, and My Friends to peace.

I was affraid of the temptation of an abſolute conqueſt, and never praied more for Victorie over others, then over My ſelf. When

the first was denied, the second was granted Mee, which God saw best for Mee.

The different events were but the methods of divine Justice, by contrarie windes to winnow us: That, by punishing our sins, hee might purge them from us; and, by deferring Peace, hee might prepare us more to prize, and better to use so great a blessing.

My often-Messages for Peace shewed that I delighted not in War; as My former Concessions sufficiently testified, how willingly I would have prevented it; and My total unpreparedness for it, how little I intended it.

The conscience of My Innocencie forbad Mee to fear a War, but the love of My Kingdoms commanded Mee (if possible) to avoid it.

I am guiltie in this War of nothing but this, That I gave such advantages to som Men, by confirming their power, which they knew not to use with that modestie and gratitude, which became their Loyaltie and My confidence.

Had I yielded less, I had been opposed less; had I denied more, I had been more obeied.

'Tis now too late to review the occasions of the War; I wish onely a happie conclusion of so unhappie beginnings: The inevitable

ble fate of our ſins was (no doubt) ſuch, as would no longer ſuffer the Divine Juſtice to bee quiet: wee, having conquered his patience, are condemned by mutual conquerings, to deſtroie one another: for, the moſt proſperous ſucceſſes on either ſide impair the welfare of the whole.

Thoſe Victories are ſtill miſerable, that leav our ſins unſubdued; fluſhing our pride, and animating to continue Injuries.

Peace it ſelf is not deſirable, till repentance hath prepared us for it.

When wee fight more againſt our ſelvs, and leſs againſt God, wee ſhall ceaſ fighting againſt one another; I praie God theſe may all meet in our hearts, and ſo diſpoſe us to an happie concluſion of theſe Civil Wars; that I may know better to obeie God, and govern My People; and they may learn better to obeie both God, and Mee.

Nor do I deſire anie man ſhould bee further ſubject to Mee, then all of us may bee ſubject to God.

O My God, make Mee content to bee overcom, when thou wilt have it ſo.

Teach Mee the nobleſt Victorie over My ſelf, and My Enemies by Patience; which was Chriſt's Conqueſt, and may well becom a Chriſtian King.

Between

Between both thy hands, the right sometimes supporting, and the left afflicting, fashion us to that frame of Pietie thou likest best.

Forgive the Pride that attend's our prosperous, and the repinings which follow our disastrous events; when going forth in our own strength, thou withdraweſt thine, and goeſt not forth with our Armies.

Bee thou all, when wee are something, and when wee are nothing; that thou maiſt have the glorie, when wee are in a victorious, or inglorious condition.

Thou, O Lord, knoweſt, how hard it is for Mee to ſuffer ſo much evil from My Subjects, to whom I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but ſuffer in thoſe evils which they compel Mee to inflict upon them, puniſhing My ſelf in their puniſhments.

Since therefore both in conquering, and beeing conquered, I am ſtill a Sufferer, I beſeech thee to give Mee a double portion of thy Spirit, and that meaſure of grace, which onely can bee ſufficient for Mee.

As I am moſt afflicted, ſo make Mee moſt reformed, that I may bee not onely happie to ſee an end of theſe civil diſtractions, but a chief Inſtrument to reſtore and eſtabliſh a firm and bleſſed Peace to My Kingdoms.

Stir up in all Parties pious ambitions to overcom each other with Reaſon, Moderation, and ſuch

Self-

Self-denial, as becom's thoſe, who conſider that our mutual diviſions are our common diſtractions, and the Union of all is everie good man's chiefeſt intereſt.

If, O Lord, as for the ſins of our Peace, thou haſt brought upon us the miſeries of War; ſo for the ſins of War thou ſhould'ſt ſee fit ſtill to denie us the bleſsing of peace, and ſo to keep us in a circulation of miſeries; yet give Mee thy Servant, and all Loyal, though afflicted Subjects, to enjoie that Peace which the world can neither give to us, nor take from us.

Impute not to Mee the blood of My Subjects, which with infinite unwillingneſs and grief hath been ſhed by Mee in My juſt and neceſſarie defenſ; but waſh Mee with that pretious blood which hath been ſhed for Mee by My great Peace-maker Jeſus Chriſt: who will, I truſt, redeem Mee ſhortly out of all My troubles: for, I know the triumphing of the Wicked is but ſhort, and the joie of Hypocrites is but for a moment.

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20. *Upon the Reformations of the Times.*

NO Glorie is more to bee envied then that of due reforming either Church or State, when deformities are ſuch, that the perturbation

bation and Noveltie are not like to exceed the benefit of Reforming.

Although God ſhould not honor Mee ſo far, as to make Mee an Inſtrument of ſo good a work, yet I ſhould bee glad to ſee it don.

As I was wel-pleaſed with this Parliament's firſt intentions to reform what the Indulgence of Times, and corruption of manners might have depraved; ſo I am ſorrie to ſee, after the freedom of Parliament was by factious Tumults oppreſſed, how little regard was had to the good Laws eſtabliſhed, and the Religion ſettled; which ought to bee the firſt rule and *Standard* of reforming: with how much partialitie and popular compliance the paſſions and opinions of men have been gratified to the detriment of the Publick, and the infinite ſcandal of the Reformed Religion.

What diſſolutions of all Order and Government in the Church, what Novelties of Schiſms and corrupt Opinions, what undecencies and confuſions in ſacred Adminiſtrations, what ſacrilegious invaſions upon the Rights and Revenues of the Church, what contempt and oppreſſions of the Clergie, what injurious diminutions and perſecutings of Mee have followed (as ſhowres do warm gleams) the talk of Reformation, all ſober men

men are Witneſſes, and (with My ſelf) ſad Spectators hitherto.

The great miſcarriage I think is, that popular clamors and furie have been allowed the reputation of Zeal and the Publick ſenſ; ſo that the ſtudie to pleaſ ſom Parties hath indeed injured all.

Freedom, moderation, and impartialitie are ſure the beſt tempers of reforming Councels and endevours: what is acted by Factions cannot but offend more then it pleaſeth.

I have offered to put all differences in Church-affairs and Religion to the free conſultation of a Synod or Convocation rightly choſen; the reſults of whoſe Counſels as they would have included the Votes of all, ſo 'tis like they would have giv'n moſt ſatisfaction to all.

The Aſſemblie of Divines, whom the two Houſes have applied (in an unwonted waie) to adviſe of Church-affairs, I diſlike not further, then that they are not legally convened and choſen; nor Act in the name of all the Clergie of *England*, nor with freedom and impartialitie can do anie thing, beeing limited and confined, if not over-awed, to do and declare what they do.

For I cannot think ſo manie men cried up for learning and pietie, who formerly allowed the Liturgie and Government of the Church

of

of *England*, as to the main, would have so suddenly agree'd quite to abolish both of them, (the last of which, they knew to bee of Apostolical institution, at least; as of Primitive and Universal practice) if they had been left to the libertie of their own suffrages, & if influence of contrarie Factions had not by secret encroachments of hopes and fears, prevailed upon them, to complie with so great and dangerous Innovations in the Church, without anie regard to their own former judgment and practice, or to the common interest and honor of all the Clergie; and, in them, of Order, Learning and Religion, against examples of all Antient Churches, the Laws in force, and My consent; which is never to bee gained against so pregnant light, as in that point shin'es on My understanding.

For I conceiv, that where the Scripture is not so clear and punctual in precepts, there the Constant and Universal practice of the Church, in things not contrarie to Reason, Faith, good Manners, or anie positive Command, is the best Rule that Christians can follow.

I was willing to grant or restore to Presbyterie what with Reason or Discretion it can pretend to, in a conjuncture with Episcopacie; but, for all that, wholly to invade the Power, and by the Sword to arrogate and quite abrogate

rogate the Autoritie of that Antient Order, I think neither juſt as to Epiſcopacie, nor ſafe for Presbyterie, nor yet anie waie convenient for this Church or State.

A due reformation had eaſily followed moderate Counſils, and ſuch (I beleev) as would have giv'n more content even to the moſt of thoſe Divines who have been led on with much Gravitie and Formalitie, to carrie on other men's deſigns; which, no doubt, manie of them by this time diſcover, though they dare not but ſmother their fruſtrations and diſcontents.

The ſpecious and popular titles of *Christ's Government*, *Throne*, *Scepter*, and *Kingdom*, (which certainly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their Parties now have, at leaſt) alſo the noiſ of a thorow-Reformation, may as eaſily bee fixed on new models, as fair colors may bee put to ill-favoured figures.

The breaking of Church-windows, which Time had ſufficiently defaced; pulling down of Croſſes, which were but civil, not Religious marks; defacing of the Monuments and Inſcriptions of the Dead, which ſerved but to put Poſteritie in minde to thank God for that clearer light wherein they live: The leaving of all Miniſters to their liberties and private abilities in the publick ſervice of God, where

no

no Christian can tell to what hee may saie *Amen*; nor what adventure hee may make of seeming (at least) to consent to the Errors, Blasphemies, and ridiculous Undecencies, which bold and ignorant men list to vent in their Praiers, Preaching, and other Offices: The setting forth also of old Catechisms and Confessions of Faith new drest, importing as much as if there had been no sound or clear Doctrine of Faith in this Church, before som four or five years consultation had matured their thoughts, touching their first Principles of Religion:

All these, and the like, are the effects of popular, specious, and deceitful Reformations, (that they might not seem to have nothing to do) and may give som short flashes of content to the Vulgar, (who are taken with Novelties, as Children with Babies, verie much, but not verie long) But all this amount's not to, nor can in Justice merit the glorie of the Churche's thorow-Reformation; since they leav all things more deformed, disordered, and discontented, then when they began, in point of Pietie, Moralitie, Charitie, and good Order.

Nor can they easily recompens or remedie the inconveniences and mischiefs, which they have purchased so dearly, and which have, and ever will necessarily ensue, till due remedies bee applied. I wish

I wiſh they would, at laſt, make it their Unanimous work to do God's work, and not their own: : Had Religion been firſt conſidered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But ſom men thought that the Government of this Church and State, fixed by ſo manie Laws and long Cuſtoms, would not run into their new moulds till they had firſt melted it in the fire of a Civil War; by the advantages of which they reſolved, if they prevailed, to make My ſelf and all My Subjects fall down and worſhip the Images they ſhould form and ſet up : If there had been as much of *Chriſt's Spirit* for meekneſs, wiſdom, and charitie, in men's hearts, as there was of his *Name* uſed in the pretenſions, to reform all to Chriſt's Rule, it would certainly have obteined more of God's bleſſing, and produced more of Chriſt's Glorie, the Churche's Good, the Honor of Religion, and the Unitie of Chriſtians.

Publick Reformers had need firſt Act in private, and practice that on their own hearts which they purpoſe to trie on others; for Deformities within will ſoon betraie the Pretenders of publick Reformations to ſuch private deſigns as muſt needs hinder the Publick good.

I am ſure the right Methods of Reforming

the Church cannot consist with that of perturbing the Civil State; nor can Religion bee justly advanced by depressing Loyaltie, which is one of the chiefest Ingredients and Ornaments of true Religion; for, next to *fear God*, is, *Honor the King*.

I doubt not but Christ's Kingdom may bee set up without pulling down Mine; nor will anie men in impartial times appear good Christians, that approov not themselvs good Subjects.

Christ's Government will confirm Mine, not overthrow it; since as I own Mine from Him, so I desire to rule for his Glorie, and his Churche's good.

Had som men truly intended *Christ's Government*, or knew what it meant in their hearts, they could never have been so ill-governed in their words and actions, both against Mee and one another.

As good ends cannot justifie evil means; so nor will evil beginnings ever bring forth good conclusions; unless God, by a miracle of Mercie, create Light out of Darkness, Order out of our Confusions, and Peace out of our Passions.

Thou, O Lord, who onely can'st give us beautie for ashes, and Truth for Hypocrisie; suffer us not to bee miserably deluded with Pharisaical washings,

ings, in ſtead of Chriſtian Reformings.

Our greateſt deformities are within; make us the ſevereſt Cenſurers, and firſt Reformers of our own ſouls:

That wee may in clearneſs of Judgment, and uprightneſs of heart bee meanes to reform what is indeed amiſs in Church and State.

Create in us clean hearts, O Lord, and renew right ſpirits within us; that wee may do all by thy directions, to thy glorie, and with thy bleſſing.

Pittie the deformities which ſom raſh and cruel Reformers have brought upon this Church and State: Quench the fires which Factions have kindled, under the pretenſ of Reforming.

As thou haſt ſhewed the world, by their diviſions and confuſions, what is the prævitie of ſom men's intentions, and weakneſs of their judgments; ſo bring us at laſt more refined out of theſe fires, by the methods of Chriſtian and charitable Reformations; wherein nothing of Ambition, Revenge, Covetouſneſs, or Sacrileg, may have anie influence upon their counſels, whom thy Providence in juſt and lawful waies ſhall entruſt with ſo great, good, and now moſt neceſſarie work: that I and My People may bee ſo bleſs'd with inward Pietie, as may beſt teach us how to uſe the bleſsing of outward Peace.

21. *Upon His Majeſtie's Letters taken and divulged.*

THe taking of My Letters was an opportunitie, which, as the malice of Mine Enemies could hardly have exſpected it, ſo, they knew not how with Honor and Civilitie to uſe: Nor do I think, with ſober and worthie mindes, anie thing in them could tend ſo much to My reproach, as the odious divulging of them did to the infamie of the Divulgers: The greateſt experiments of Virtue and Nobleneſs beeing diſcovered in the greateſt advantages againſt an enemie; and the greateſt obligations beeing thoſe, which are put upon us by them, from whom wee could leaſt have exſpected them.

And ſuch I ſhould have eſteemed the concealing of My Papers; The freedom and ſecreſie of which command's a civilitie from all men, not wholly barbarous; nor is there anie thing more inhumane then to expoſe them to Publick view.

Yet ſince Providence will have it ſo, I am content ſo much of My heart (which I ſtudie to approov to God's omniſcience) ſhould bee diſcovered to the world, without anie of thoſe dreſſes or popular captations which ſom men uſe

uſe in their Speechesand Expreſſes; I wiſh My Subjects had yet a clearer ſight into My moſt retired thoughts.

Where they might diſcover how they are divided between the love and care I have, not more to preſerv My own Rights, then to procure their Peace and Happineſs; and that extreme grief to ſee them both Deceived and Deſtroied.

Nor can anie men's malice bee gratified further by My Letters, then to ſee My conſtancie to My Wife, the Laws, and Religion. Bees will gather Honie, where the Spider ſuck's Poiſon.

That I endevour to avoid the preſſures of My Enemies, by all fair and juſt correſpondencies, no man can blame, who love's Mee, or the Common-wealth; ſince My Subjects can hardly bee happie, if I bee miſerable; or enjoie their Peace and Liberties, while I am oppreſſed.

The world may ſee how ſom men's deſign, like *Abſolom*'s, is, by enormous actions, to widen differences, and to exaſperate all ſides to ſuch diſtances, as may make all reconciliation deſperate.

Yet, I thank God, I can not onely with Patience bear this, as other indignities; but with Charitie forgive them.

The integritie of My intentions is not jea-

lous of anie injurie, My expreſſions can do them; for although the confidence of privacie may admit greater freedom in writing ſuch Letters, which may bee liable to envious exceptions; yet the Innocencie of My chief purpoſes cannot bee ſo ſtained, or miſ-interpreted by them, as not to let all men ſee, that I wiſh nothing more then an happie compoſure of differences with Juſtice and Honor, not more to My own, then My People's content, who have anie ſparks of Love or Loyaltie left in them: who, by thoſe My Letters, may bee convinced, that I can both minde and Act Mine own, and My Kingdom's Affairs, ſo as becom's a Prince; which Mine Enemies have alwaies been verie loth ſhould bee believed of Mee; as if I were wholly confined to the Dictates and Directions of others, whom they pleaſ to brand with the names of *Evil Counſellors*.

It's probable ſom men will now look upon Mee as My own Counſellor; and, having none elſ to quarrel with under that notion, they will hereafter confine their anger to My ſelf: Although I know they are verie unwilling I ſhould enjoie that libertie of My own Thoughts, or follow that light of My own Conſcience, which they labor to bring into an abſolute captivitie to themſelvs; not allowing Mee to think their Counſels to bee other

other then good for Mee, which have so long maintained a War against Mee.

The Victorie they obteined that daie, when My Letters became their prize, had been enough to have satiated the most ambitious thirst of Popular Glorie among the Vulgar; with whom Prosperitie gain's the greatest esteem and applaus; as Adversitie exposeth to their greatest slighting and dis-respect: As if good fortune were alwaies the shadow of Virtue and Justice, and did not oft'ner attend vitious and injurious actions, as to this world.

But I see no secular advantages seem sufficient to that Caus, which began with Tumults, and depend's chiefly upon the reputation with the Vulgar.

They think no Victories so effectual to their designs as those, that most rout and waste My Credit with My People; in whose hearts they seek by all means to smother and extinguish all sparks of Love, Respect, and Loyaltie to Mee, that they may never kindle again, so as to recover Mine, the Law's, and the Kingdom's Liberties, which som men seek to overthrow: The taking away of My Credit is but a necessarie preparation to the taking away of My Life, and My Kingdoms; First I must seem neither fit to Live, nor worthie to Reign; by exquisite methods of cunning and crueltie, I must bee compelled, first,

to follow the Funerals of My Honor, and then bee deſtroied: But I know God's unerring and impartial Juſtice can, and will over-rule the moſt perverſ wills and deſigns of men; Hee is able, and (I hope) will turn even the worſt of Mine Enemie's thoughts and actions to My good.

Nor do I think, that by the ſurprize of My Letters, I have loſt anie more then ſo manie Papers: How much they have loſt of that reputation, for Civilitie and Humanitie (which ought to bee paid to all men, and moſt becom's ſuch as pretend to Religion) beſides that of Reſpect and Honor, which they ow to their KING, - preſent, and after-times will judg. And I cannot think that their own Conſciences are ſo ſtupid, as not to inflict upon them ſom ſecret impreſſions of that ſhame and diſhonor, which attend's all unworthie actions, have they never ſo much of Publick flatterie, and Popular countenance.

I am ſure they can never expect the Divine Approbation of ſuch indecent actions, if they do but remember how God bleſs'd the modeſt reſpect and filial tenderneſs which *Noah*'s Sons bare to their Father; nor did his open infirmitie juſtifie *Cham*'s impudencie, or exempt him from that curſ of beeing *Servant of ſervants*; which curſ muſt needs bee on them who ſeek by diſhonorable actions to pleaſ

the

the Vulgar, and confirm by ignoble acts their dependence upon the People.

Nor can their malitious intentions bee ever either excuſable, or proſperous, who thought, by this means, to expoſe Mee to the higheſt reproach and contempt of My People; forgetting that Dutie of modeſt concealment, which they owed to the *Father* of their *Countrie*, in caſe they had diſcovered anie real uncomlineſs; which, I thank God, they did not; who can, and, I believ, hath made Mee (as hee did *David*) more reſpected in the hearts of manie, to whom they thought, by publiſhing My private Letters, to have rendred Mee as *a vile Perſon*, not fit to bee truſted, or conſidered, under anie notion of Majeſtie.

But thou, O Lord, whoſe wiſe and all-diſpoſing providence ordereth the greateſt contingences of humane affairs, make Mee to ſee the conſtancie of thy mercies to Mee, in the greateſt advantages thou ſeemeſt to give the malice of My Enemies againſt Mee.

As thou did'ſt blaſt the counſel of Achitophel, *turning it to* David's *good, and his own ruine; ſo canſt thou defeat their deſign, who intended by publiſhing My private letters, nothing elſ, but to render Mee more odious & contemptible to My people.*

I muſt firſt appeal to thy Omniſcience, who can'ſt

can'ſt witneſs with My integritie, how unjuſt and falſ thoſe ſcandalous miſ-conſtructions are, which My enemies endevour by thoſe Papers of Mine to repreſent to the world.

Make the evil they imagined, and diſpleaſure they intended thereby, againſt Mee, ſo to return on their own heads, that they may bee aſhamed, and covered with their own confuſion, as with a Cloak.

Thou ſee'ſt how Mine Enemies uſe all means to cloud Mine Honor, to pervert My purpoſes, and to ſlander the footſteps of thine Annointed.

But give Mee an heart content to bee diſhonored for thy ſake, and thy Churche's good.

Fix in Mee a purpoſe to honor thee, and then I know thou wilt honor Mee; either by reſtoring to Mee the enjoiment of that Power and Majeſtie, which thou haſt ſuffered ſom men to ſeek to deprive Mee of; or by beſtowing on Mee that crown of Chriſtian patience, which know's how to ſerv thee in honor, or diſhonor, in good report, or evil.

Thou, O Lord, art the fountain of goodneſs and honor; thou art clothed with excellent Majeſtie; make Mee to partake of thy excellencie for wiſdom, juſtice, and mercie, and I ſhall not want that degree of Honor and Majeſtie, which becom's the Place in which thou haſt ſet Mee; who art the lifter up of My head, and My ſalvation.

Lord, by thy Grace, lead mee to thy Glorie, which is both true, and eternal.

Upon

22. *Upon His Majeſtie's leaving* Oxford, *and going to the* Scots.

ALthough God hath giv'n Mee three Kingdoms, yet in theſe Hee hath not now left Mee anie place, where I may with Safetie and Honor reſt My Head: Shewing Mee that himſelf is the ſafeſt Refuge, and the ſtrongeſt Tower of Defenſ, in which I may put My Truſt.

In theſe extremities I look not to man ſo much, as to God; Hee will not have it thus; that I may wholly caſt my ſelf, and My now diſtreſſed Affairs upon his Mercie, who hath both the hearts and hands of all men in his diſpoſe.

What Providence denie's to Force, it may grant to Prudence: Neceſſitie is now My Counſellor, and command's Mee to ſtudie My ſafetie by a diſguiſed withdrawing from My chiefeſt ſtrength, and adventuring upon their Loyaltie, who firſt began My Troubles. Haply God may make them a means honorably to compoſe them.

This My confidence of Them, may diſ-arm and overcom Them: My rend'ring My Perſon to Them may engage their Affections to Mee, who have oft profeſſed, *They fought not againſt Mee, but for Mee*.

I muſt

I muſt now reſolv the riddle of their Loyaltie; and give them opportunitie to let the world ſee, they mean not what they do, but what they ſaie.

Yet muſt God bee My chiefeſt Guard; and My Conſcience both My Counſellor and My Comforter: Though I put My Bodie into their hands, yet I ſhall reſerv My Soul to God, and My ſelf: nor ſhall anie neceſſities compel Mee to deſert Mine Honor, or ſwerv from My Judgment.

What they ſought to take by Force, ſhall now bee giv'n them in ſuch a waie of unuſual Confidence of them, as may make them aſhamed not to bee really ſuch, as they ought, and profeſſed to bee.

God ſee's it not enough to deprive Me of all Militarie power to defend My ſelf; but to put Me upon uſing their power, who ſeem to fight againſt Me, yet ought in dutie to defend Me.

So various are all humane affairs, and ſo neceſſitous may the ſtate of Princes bee, that their greateſt danger may bee in their ſuppoſed ſafetie, and their ſafetie in their ſuppoſed danger.

I muſt now leav thoſe that have Adhered to Mee, and applie to thoſe that have Oppoſed Mee; this method of Peace may bee more proſperous then that of War, both to ſtop the effuſion of blood, and to cloſe thoſe wounds

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alreadie made: and in it I am no leſs ſolicitous for My Friend's ſafetie, then Mine own; chuſing to venture My ſelf upon further hazards, rather then expoſe their reſolute Loyaltie to all extremities.

It is ſom skill in plaie to know when a game is loſt; better fairly to give over, then to conteſt in vain.

I muſt now ſtudie to re-inforce My judgment, and fortifie My minde with Reaſon and Religion; that I may not ſeem to offer up My Soul's libertie, or make My Conſcience their Captive; who ought at firſt to have uſed Arguments, not Arms, to have perſwaded My Conſent to their New Demands.

I thank God, no ſucceſs darken's, or diſguiſe's Truth to Mee; and I ſhall no leſs conform My words to My inward dictates now, then if they had been, as the words of a King ought to bee among Loyal Subjects, *full of power*.

Reaſon is the divineſt power. I ſhall never think My ſelf weak'ned while I may make full and free uſe of that. No eclipſ of outward fortune ſh. \ rob Mee of that light; what God hath denied of outward ſtrength, his grace, I hope, will ſupplie with inward reſolutions; not moroſely to denie, what is fit to bee granted; but not to grant anie thing, which Reaſon and Religion bid Mee denie.

I ſhall never think My ſelf leſs then My ſelf

while

whiſe I am able thus to preſerv the Integritie of My Conſcience, the onely jewel now left Mee, which is worth keeping.

O Thou Sovereign of our Souls, the onely commander of our Conſciences; though I know not what to do, yet Mine eies are towards thee: To the protection of thy mercie I ſtill commmend My ſelf.

As Thou haſt preſerved Mee in the daie of Battel; ſo Thou can'ſt ſtill ſhew Mee Thy ſtrength in My weakneſs.

Bee Thou unto Mee in My darkeſt night a Pillar of fire, to enlighten and direct Mee; in the day of My hotteſt affliction, bee alſo a Pillar of Cloud to over-ſhadow and protect Mee; bee to Mee both a Sun and a Shield.

Thou knoweſt, that it is not anie perverſneſs of Will, but juſt perſwaſions of Honor, Reaſon, and Religion, which have made Mee thus far to hazard My perſon, Peace, and Safetie, againſt Thoſe, that by force have ſought to wreſt them from Mee.

Suffer not My juſt reſolutions to abate with My outward Forces; let a good Conſcience alwaies accompanie Mee, in My ſolitude and deſertions.

Suffer Mee not to betraie the powers of Reaſon, and that fortreſs of My Soul, which I am entruſted with to keep for Thee.

Lead

Lead Mee in the paths of thy Righteouſneß, and ſhew Mee thy Salvation.

Make My waies to pleaſ thee, and then thou wilt make Mine Enemies to bee at peace with Mee.

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23. *Upon the* Scot's *delivering the* KING *to the* Engliſh; *and His Captivitie at* Holmbie.

—YEt may I juſtifie thoſe *Scots* to all the World in this, That they have not deceived Mee; for I never truſted to them further, then to men: if I am ſold by them, I am onely ſorrie they ſhould do it; and that My price ſhould bee ſo much above My Saviour's.

Theſe are but further Eſſaies, which God will have Mee make of man's uncertaintie; the more to fix Mee on himſelf, who *never faileth them that truſt in him*: Though the Reeds of *Egypt* break under the hand of him that lean's on them; yet the Rock of *Iſrael* will bee an everlaſting ſtaie and defenſ.

God's Providence command's Mee to retire from all to himſelf, that in him I may enjoie My ſelf; whom I loſe, while I let out My hopes to others.

The ſolitude and captivitie, to which I am now reduced, give's Mee leiſure enough to ſtudie the world's vanitie and inconſtancie.

God

God ſee's 'tis fit to deprive Mee of Wife, Children, Armie, Friends, and Freedom, that I may bee wholly his, who alone is All.

I care not much to bee reckoned among the *Unfortunate*, if I bee not in the black Liſt of irreligious and ſacrilegious Princes.

No Reſtraint ſhall enſnare My Soul in ſin; nor gain that of Mee, which may make My Enemies more inſolent, My Friends aſhamed, or My Name accurſed.

They have no great cauſ to triumph, that they have got My Perſon into their power; ſince My Soul is ſtill My own: nor ſhall they ever gain My Conſent againſt My Conſcience.

What they call Obſtinacie, I know God account's honeſt Conſtancie; from which Reaſon and Religion, as well as Honor, forbid Mee to recede.

'Tis evident now, that it was not Evil-Conſellors with Mee, but a good Conſcience in Mee, which hath been fought againſt; nor did they ever intend to bring Mee to My Parliament, till they had brought My minde to their obedience.

Should I grant what ſom men deſire, I ſhould bee ſuch as they wiſh Mee: not more a King, and far leſs both Man and Chriſtian.

What tumults and Armies could not obtein, neither ſhall Reſtraint; which though it have

have as little of ſafetie to a Prince, yet it hath not more of danger.

The fear of men ſhall never bee My ſnare; nor ſhall the love of anie libertie entangle My ſoul: Better others betraie Mee, then My ſelf; and that the price of My Libertie ſhould bee My Conſcience: The greateſt injuries My Enemies ſeek to inflict upon Mee cannot bee without My own conſent.

While I can denie with Reaſon, I ſhall defeat the greateſt impreſſions of their malice, who neither know how to uſe worthily what I have alreadie granted; nor what to require more of Mee but this, That I would ſeem willing to help them to deſtroie My ſelf and Mine.

Although they ſhould Deſtroie Mee, yet they ſhall have no cauſ to Deſpiſe Mee.

Neither libertie, nor life are ſo dear to Mee, as the peace of My Conſcience, the Honor of My Crowns, and the welfare of My People; which My Word may injure more then anie War can do, while I gratifie a few to oppreſs all.

The Laws will, by God's bleſſing, revive, with the love and Loyaltie of My ſubjects, if I burie them not by My Conſent, and cover them in that grave of diſhonor, and injuſtice, which ſom men's violence hath digged for them.

If My captivitie, or death muſt bee the price of their redemption, I grudg not to paie it.

No condition can make a King miſerable, which carrie's not with it his ſoul's, his People's, and Poſteritie's thraldom.

After-times may ſee, what the blindeneſs of this Age will not; and God may at length ſhew My Subjects, that I chuſe rather to ſuffer for them, then with them; haply I might redeem My ſelf to ſom ſhew of libertie, if I would conſent to enſlave them: I had rather hazard the ruine of one King, then confirm manie Tyrants over them; from whom I praie God deliver them, whatever becom's of Mee, whoſe ſolitude hath not left Mee alone.

For thou, O God, infinitely-good, and great, art with Mee; whoſe preſence is better then life, and whoſe ſervice is perfect freedom.

Own Mee for thy Servant, and I ſhall never have cauſ to complain for want of that libertie, which becom's a Man, a Chriſtian, and a King.

Bleſs Mee ſtill with Reaſon, as a Man; with Religion, as a Chriſtian; and with Conſtancie in Juſtice, as a King.

Though Thou ſuffereſt Mee to bee ſtript of all outward ornaments; yet preſerv Mee ever in thoſe enjoiments, wherein I may enjoie thy ſelf; and which cannot bee taken from Mee againſt My will.

Let

Let no fire of affliction boil over My passion to anie impatience, or sordid fears.

There bee manie saie of Mee, There is no help for Mee: do Thou lift up the Light of thy Countenance upon Mee, and I shall neither want Safetie, Libertie, nor Majestie.

Give Mee that measure of Patience and constancie, which My condition now requires.

My strength is scattered, My expectation from Men defeated, my Person restrained; O bee not Thou far from Mee, lest my Enemies prevail too much against Mee.

I am becom a wonder, and a scorn to manie: O bee Thou My Helper and Defender.

Shew som token upon Mee for good, that they, that hate Mee, may bee ashamed, becaus thou Lord hast holpen and comforted Mee: establish Mee with thy free Spirit that I may do, and suffer thy Will, as thou would'st have Mee.

Bee merciful to Mee, O Lord, for my Soul trusteth in Thee: yea, and in the shadow of thy wings will I make My refuge until these calamities bee over-past.

Arise to deliver Mee, make no long tarrying, O My God. Though Thou killest Mee, yet will I trust in Thy Mercie, and My Saviour's Merit.

I know that My Redeemer liveth; though Thou leadest Mee through the vale and shadow of death, yet shall I fear none ill.

24 *Upon their denying His Majeſtie the Attendence of His Chaplains.*

WHen Providence was pleaſed to deprive Mee of all other civil comforts and ſecular Attendents, I thought the abſence of them all might beſt bee ſupplied by the attendence of ſom of My Chaplains; whom for their Function I reverence, and for their Fidelitie I have cauſ to love. By their Learning, Pietie, and Praiers, I hoped to bee either better enabled to ſuſtain the want of all other enjoiments, or better fitted for the recoverie and uſe of them in God's good time: ſo reaping, by their pious help, a ſpiritual harveſt of Grace amid'ſt the thorns, and after the plowings of temporal croſſes.

The truth is, I never needed, or deſired more the ſervice and aſſiſtance of men judiciouſly-pious, and ſoberly-devout.

The ſolitude, they have confined Mee unto, add's the Wilderneſs to My temptations; For the companie they obtrude upon Mee is more ſad then anie ſolitude can bee.

If I had asked My Revenues, My power of the *Militia*, or anie one of My Kingdoms, it had

had been no wonder to have been denied in thoſe things, where the evil policie of men forbid's all juſt reſtitution, leſt they ſhould confeſs an injurious uſurpation: But to denie Mee the Ghoſtlie comfort of My Chaplains ſeem's a greater rigor and barbaritie, then is ever uſed by Chriſtians to the meaneſt Priſoners and greateſt Malefactors; whom though the Juſtice of the Law deprive's of worldlie comforts; yet the Mercie of Religion allow's them the benefit of their Clergie; as not aiming at once to deſtroie their Bodies, and to damn their Souls.

But My Agonie muſt not bee relieved with the preſence of anie one good Angel; for ſuch I account a Learned, Godlie, and Diſcreet Divine: and ſuch I would have all Mine to bee.

They that envie My beeing a King, are loth I ſhould bee a Chriſtian: while they ſeek to deprive Mee of all things elſ, They are afraid I ſhould ſave My Soul.

Other ſenſ Charitie it ſelf can hardly pick out of thoſe manie harſh Repulſes I received, as to that Requeſt ſo often made for the attendence of ſom of My Chaplains.

I have ſomtime thought the Unchriſtianneſs of thoſe denials might ariſe from a diſpleaſure ſom men had to ſee Mee prefer My own Divines before their Miniſters: whom

though I reſpect them for that worth and pietie which may bee in them, yet I cannot think ſo proper for anie preſent Comforters, or Phyſicians; who have (ſom of them at leaſt) had ſo great an influence in occaſioning theſe calamities, and inflicting theſe wounds upon Mee.

Nor are the ſobereſt of them ſo apt for that Devotional compliance and juncture of hearts, which I deſire to bear in thoſe Holie Offices, to bee performed with Mee, and for Mee; ſince, their judgments ſtanding at a diſtance from Mee, or in jealouſie of Mee, or in oppoſition againſt Mee, their Spirits cannot ſo harmoniouſly accord with Mine, or Mine with their's, either in Praier, or other Holie Duties, as is meet, and moſt comfortable; whoſe golden Rule, and bond of Perfection conſiſt's in that of mutual Love and Charitie.

Som Remedies are worſ then the Diſeaſ, and ſom Comforters more miſerable then Miſerie it ſelf; when, like *Job*'s friends, they ſeek not to fortifie one's minde with patience, but perſwade a man, by betraying his own Innocencie, to deſpair of God's Mercie; and, by juſtifying their injuries, to ſtrengthen the hands, and harden the hearts of inſolent Enemies.

I am ſo much a friend to all Church-men, that have anie thing in them beſeeming that

Sacred

Sacred Function, that I have hazarded My own Intereſt, chiefly upon Conſcience and Conſtancie, to maintain their Rights; whom the more I looked upon as Orphans, and under the Sacrilegious eies of manie cruel and rapacious Reformers; ſo I thought it My Dutie the more to appear as a Father, and a Patron for them and the Church. Although I am verie unhandſomly requited by ſom of them, who may live to repent no leſs for My ſufferings, then their own ungrateful errors, and that injurious contempt and meanneſs, which they have brought upon their Calling and Perſons.

I pittie all of them, I deſpiſe none: onely I thought I might have leav to make choiſ of ſom for My ſpecial Attendents, who were beſt approoved in My judgment, and moſt ſuitable to My affection. For, I held it better to ſeem undevout, and to hear no men's praiers, then to bee forced, or ſeem to complie with thoſe Petitions, to which the heart cannot conſent, nor the tongue ſaie *Amen*, without contradicting a man's own underſtanding, or belying his own ſoul.

In Devotions, I love neither Profane boldneſs, nor Pious non-ſenſ; but ſuch an humble and judicious gravitie, as ſhewe's the Speaker to bee at once conſiderate of God's Majeſtie, the Churche's Honor, and his own Vile-

nefs; both knowing what things God allow's him to ask, and in what manner it becom's a Sinner to ſupplicate the divine Mercie for himſelf, and others.

I am equally ſcandalized with all praiers, that ſound either imperiouſly, or rudely, or paſſionately; as either wanting humilitie to God, or charitie to men, or reſpect to the dutie.

I confeſs I am better pleaſed, as with ſtudied and premeditated Sermons; ſo with ſuch publick Forms of Praier, as are fitted to the Churche's and everie Chriſtian's dailie and common neceſſities; becauſ I am by them better aſſured, what I may join My heart unto, then I can bee of anie man's extemporarie ſufficiencie; which as I do not wholly exclude from Publick occaſions; ſo I allow its juſt libertie and uſe in private & devout retirements; where neither the ſolemnitie of the Dutie, nor the modeſt regard to others, do require ſo great exactneſs, as to the outward manner of performance. Though the light of underſtanding, and the fervencie of affection, I hold the main and moſt neceſſarie requiſites both in conſtant and occaſional, ſolitarie and ſocial Devotions;

So that I muſt needs ſeem to all equal mindes with as much Reaſon to preſer the ſervice of My own Chaplains before that of their Mini-

Miniſters, as I do the Liturgie before their Directorie.

In the one, I have been alwaies educated and exerciſed; in the other, I am not yet Catechized, nor acquainted: And, if I were, yet ſhould I not by that, as by anie certain Rule and Canon of devotion, bee able to follow or finde out the indirect extravagancies of moſt of thoſe men, who highly crie up that as a piece of rare compoſure and uſe, which is alreadie as much deſpiſed and diſuſed by manie of them, as the Common-praier ſomtimes was by thoſe men; a great part of whoſe pietie hung upon that popular pin of railing againſt, and contemning the Government and Liturgie of this Church. But I had rather bee condemned to the wo of *Va ſoli*, then to that of *Va vobis, Hypocritæ*, by ſeeming to praie what I do not approov.

It may bee, I am eſteemed by My Deniers ſufficient of My ſelf to diſcharge My dutie to God as a Prieſt; though not to Men as a Prince.

Indeed, I think both Offices, Regal and Sacerdotal, might well becom the ſame Perſon; as antiently they were under one name, & the united rights of Primogeniture: Nor could I follow better preſidents, if I were able, then thoſe two eminent Kings, *David*, and *Solomon*; not more famous for their Scepters and Crowns,

Crowns, then one was for devout Pſalms and Praiers; the other for his divine Parables and Preaching: whence the one merited and aſſumed the name of a Prophet; the other, of a Preacher: Titles indeed of greater honor, where rightly placed, then anie of thoſe the Romane Emperors affected from the Nations they ſubdued: it beeing infinitely more glorious to convert Souls to God's Church by the Word, then to conquer men to a ſubjection by the Sword.

Yet ſince the order of God's Wiſdom and Providence hath, for the moſt part, alwaies diſtinguiſhed the gifts and offices of Kings & Prieſts, of Princes and Preachers, both in the Jewiſh and Chriſtian Churches; I am ſorrie to finde My ſelf reduced to the neceſſitie of beeing both, or enjoying neither.

For ſuch, as ſeek to deprive Mee of My Kinglie Power and Sovereigntie, would no leſs enforce Mee to live manie Months without all Praiers, Sacraments, and Sermons, unleſs I becom My own Chaplain.

As I ow the Clergie the protection of a Chriſtian King; ſo I deſire to enjoie from them the benefit of their gifts and praiers; which I look upon as more prevalent then My own, or other men's; by how much they flow from mindes more enlightned, and affections leſs diſtracted, then thoſe which are encomb'red

encomb'red with Secular Affairs: beſides, I think a greater bleſſing and acceptableneſs attend's thoſe Duties, which are rightly performed, as proper to, and within the limits of that Calling, to which God and the Church have ſpecially deſigned and Conſecrated ſom men: And however, as to that Spiritual Government, by which the devout Soul is ſubject to Chriſt, and through his Merits daily offer's it ſelf and it's ſervices to God, everie private believer is a King and Prieſt, inveſted with the honor of a Royal Prieſt-hood; yet, as to Eccleſiaſtical Order, and the outward Politie of the Church, I think Confuſion in Religion will as certainly follow everie man's turning Prieſt, or Preacher, as it will in the State, where everie one affect's to rule as King.

I was alwaies bred to more modeſt, and, I think, more pious Principles: the conſciouſneſs to My ſpiritual defects make's Mee more prize and deſire thoſe pious aſſiſtances, which holie and good Miniſters, either Biſhops or Presbyters, may afford Mee; eſpecially in theſe extremities, to which God hath been pleaſed to ſuffer ſom of My Subjects to reduce Mee; ſo as to leav them nothing more, but My life to take from Mee; and to leav Mee nothing to deſire, which I thought might leſs provoke their jealouſie and offenſ to denie Mee, then this of having ſom means afforded

ded Mee for My ſoul's comfort and ſupport.

To which end I made choiſ of men, as no waie (that I know) ſcandalous; ſo everie waie eminent for their Learning & Pietie, no leſs then for their Loyaltie: nor can I imagine anie exceptions to bee made againſt them but onely this, That they may ſeem too able and too wel-affected toward Mee and My ſervice.

But this is not the firſt ſervice (as I count it the beſt) in which they have forced Mee to ſerv My ſelf; though I muſt confeſs I bear with more grief and impatience the want of My Chaplains, then of anie other My Servants; and next (if not beyond in ſom things) to the beeing ſequeſtred from My Wife and Children; ſince from theſe, indeed, more of humane and temporatie affections; but from thoſe, more of heavenlie and eternal improovments may bee exſpected.

My comfort is, that in the enforced (not neglected) want of ordinarie means, God is wont to afford extraordinarie ſupplies of his gifts and graces.

If his Spirit will teach Mee and help My Infirmities in praier, reading and meditation, (as I hope hee will) I ſhall need no other, either Orator, or Inſtructer.

To Thee therefore, O My God, do I direct My now-ſolitarie praiers; what I want of o-

thers

ther's help, ſupplie with the more immediate aſsiſtances of thy Spirit; which alone can both enlighten My darkneſs, and quicken My dulneſs.

O thou Sun of Righteouſneſs, thou ſacred Fountain of heavenlie light and heat, at once clear and warm My heart, both by inſtructing of Mee, and interceding for Mee: In thee is all fulneſs; from thee is al-ſufficiencie; by thee is all acceptance. Thou art companie enough, and comfort enough: Thou art My King, bee alſo My Prophet, and My Prieſt: Rule Mee, Teach Mee, Praie in Mee, for Mee; and bee thou ever with Mee.

The ſingle wreſtlings of Jacob prevailed with thee, in that ſacred Duel, when hee had none to ſecond him but thy ſelf; who did'ſt aſsiſt him with power to overcom thee, and by a welcom violence to wreſt a bleſsing from thee.

O Look on Mee thy Servant, in infinite mercie, whom thou did'ſt once bleſs with the joint and ſociated Devotions of others; whoſe fervencie might inflame the coldneſs of My Affections towards thee, when wee went to, or met in thy Houſ, with the voice of joie and gladneſs, worſhipping thee in the Unitie of ſpirits, and with the bond of Peace.

O Forgive the neglect, and not improoving of thoſe happie opportunities.

It is now thy pleaſure that I ſhould bee as a Pelican in the wilderneſs; as a Sparrow on the houſ top; and as a coal ſcattered from all thoſe pious glowings,

glowings, and devout reflections, which might best kindle, preserv, and increas the holie fire of thy graces on the Altar of My heart, whence the Sacrifice of Praiers, and Incens of Praises, might bee duly offered up to thee.

Yet, O thou that breakest not the bruised Reed, nor quenchest the smoaking Flax, do not despise the weaknes of My Praiers, nor the smotherings of My Soul in this uncomfortable loneness; to which I am constrained by som men's uncharitable denials of those helps, which I much want, and no less desire.

O Let the hardnes of their hearts occasion the softnings of Mine to thee, and for Them. Let their Hatred kindle My Love; let their unreasonable denials of My Religious desires the more excite My praiers to thee. Let their inexorable deafnes incline thine ear to Mee; who art a God easie to bee entreated; thine ear is not heavie, that it cannot, nor thy heart hard, that it will not hear; nor thy hand short'ned, that it cannot help Mee thy desolate Suppliant.

Thou permittest men to deprive Mee of those outward means, which thou hast appointed in thy Church; but they cannot debar Mee from the communion of that inward grace, which thou alone breathest into humble hearts.

O make Mee such, and thou wilt teach Mee, thou wilt hear Mee, thou wilt help Mee: The broken and contrite heart, I know, thou wilt not despise.

Thou,

Thou, O Lord, can'ſt at once make Mee thy Temple, thy Prieſt, thy Sacrifice, and thine Altar; while from an humble heart I (alone) daily offer up, in holie meditations, fervent praiers, and unfeined teares, My ſelf to thee; who prepareſt Mee for thee, dwelleſt in Mee, and acceptеſt of Mee.

Thou, O Lord, did'ſt cauſe, by ſecret ſupplies and miraculous infuſions, that the handful of meal in the veſſel ſhould not ſpend; nor the little oil in the cruiſe fail the Widow, during the time of drought and dearth.

O look on My ſoul, which, as a Widow, is now deſolate and forſaken: let not thoſe ſaving Truths, I have formerly learned, now fail My memorie; nor the ſweet effuſions of thy Spirit, which I Have ſometime felt, now bee wanting to My Heart, in this famine of ordinarie and wholſom food, for the refreſhing of My Soul.

Which yet I had rather chuſe, then to feed from thoſe hands who mingle My bread with aſhes, and My wine with gall; rather tormenting, then teaching Mee; whoſe mouths are proner to bitter reproaches of Mee, then to heartie praiers for Mee.

Thou knoweſt, O Lord of Truth, how oft they wreſt thy Holie Scriptures to My deſtruction (which are clear for their ſubjection, and My preſervation) O let it not bee to their damnation.

Thou knoweſt how ſom men (under color of long praiers) have ſought to devour the houſes of their Brethren, their King, and their God.

O Let

O Let not thoſe men's balms break My head, nor their Cordials oppreſs My heart; I will evermore praie againſt their wickedneſs.

From the poiſon under their tongues, from the ſnares of their lips, from the fire, and the ſwords of their words ever deliver Mee, O Lord, and all thoſe Loyal and Religious hearts, who deſire and delight in the proſperitie of My ſoul, and who ſeek by their praiers to relieve this ſadneſs and ſolitude of thy ſervant, O My King, and My God.

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25. Penitential Meditations and Vows in the KING's ſolitude at *Holmbie.*

GIve ear to My words, O Lord, conſider My Meditation; and hearken to the voice of My crie, My King and My God, for unto Thee will I praie.

I ſaid, in My haſte, I am caſt out of the ſight of thine eies; nevertheleſs thou heareſt the voice of My ſupplication, when I crie unto Thee.

If thou Lord ſhould'ſt bee extreme to mark what is don amiſs, who can abide it? But there is Mercie with Thee that Thou maieſt bee feared; therefore ſhall ſinners flie unto Thee.

I acknowledg My ſins before Thee, which have the aggravation of My condition, the eminencie of My Place adding weight to My offenſes.

Forgive

Forgive, I beſeech thee, My Perſonal and My People's ſins; which are ſo far Mine, as I have not improoved the power thou gaveſt Mee, to thy glorie, and My Subject's good: Thou haſt now brought Mee from the glorie and freedom of a King to bee a Priſoner to My own Subjects: Juſtly, O Lord, as to thy over-ruling hand, becauſ in manie things I have rebelled againſt thee.

Though Thou haſt reſtrained My Perſon, yet enlarge My heart to thee, and thy grace towards Mee.

I com far ſhort of David's *pietie; yet ſince I may equal* David's *afflictions, give Mee alſo the comforts and the ſure mercies of* David.

Let the penitent ſenſ I have of My ſins, bee an evidence to Mee, that thou haſt pardoned them.

Let not the evils, which I and My Kingdoms have ſuffered, ſeem little unto thee; though thou haſt not puniſhed us according to our ſins.

Turn thee (O Lord) unto Mee; have mercie upon Mee, for I am deſolate and afflicted.

The ſorrows of My heart are enlarged; O bring thou Mee out of My troubles.

Haſt thou forgotten to bee gracious, and ſhut up thy loving kindeneſs in diſpleaſure?

O remember thy compaſsions of old, and thy loving kindeneſſes, which have been for manie generations.

I had utterly fainted, if I had not beleeved to ſee thy goodneſs in the land of the living.

Let not the ſins of our proſperitie deprive us of the benefit of thy afflictions.

Let this fierie trial conſume the droſs, which in long peace and plentie wee had contracted.

Though thou continuest miſeries, yet withdraw not thy grace: what is wanting of proſperitie, make up in patience and repentance.

And if thy anger bee not yet to bee turned away, but thy hand of juſtice muſt bee ſtretched out ſtill; Let it, I beſeech thee, bee againſt Mee, and My Fathers houſe; as for theſe ſheep, what have they don?

Let My ſufferings ſatiate the malice of Mine, and thy Churche's enemies.

But let their crueltie never exceed the meaſure of My charitie.

Baniſh from Mee all thoughts of Revenge, that I may not loſe the reward, nor thou, the glorie of My patience.

As thou giveſt Mee a heart to forgive them; ſo, I beſeech thee, do thou forgive what they have don againſt thee and Mee.

And now, O Lord, as thou haſt given Mee an heart to praie unto thee; ſo hear and accept this Vow, which I make before thee.

If thou wilt in mercie remember Mee, and My Kingdoms, in continuing the light of thy Goſpel, and ſettling Thy true Religion among us:

In reſtoring to us the benefit of the Laws, and the due execution of Juſtice:

In ſuppreſſing the manie Schiſms in Church, and Factions in State:

If thou wilt reſtore Mee and Mine to the Antient rights and glorie of My Predeceſſors:

If thou wilt turn the hearts of My People to thy ſelf in Pietie, to Mee in Loyaltie, and to one another in Charitie:

If thou wilt quench the flames, and withdraw the fewel of theſe Civil Wars:

If thou wilt bleſs us with the freedom of Publick Counſels, and deliver the Honor of Parliaments from the inſolencie of the vulgar:

If thou wilt keep Mee from the great offens of enacting anie thing againſt My Conſcience; and eſpecially from conſenting to ſacrilegious rapines and ſpoilings of thy Church:

If thou wilt reſtore Mee to a capacitie to glorifie thee in doing good, both to the Church and State:

Then ſhall My ſoul praiſ thee, and magnifie thy name before My People:

Then ſhall thy glorie bee deater to Mee then My Crowns; and the advancement of true Religion both in puritie and power bee My chiefeſt care.

Then will I rule My People with Juſtice, and My Kingdoms with equitie:

To thy more immediate hand ſhall I ever ow as the righteful ſucceſſion, ſo the merciful reſtauration of My Kingdoms, and the glorie of them.

If thou wilt bring Mee again with peace, ſafetie,

and honor, to My chiefeſt Citie, and My Parliament:

If thou wilt again put the Sword of Juſtice into My hand to puniſh and protect:

Then will I make all the world to ſee, and My verie Enemies to enjoie the beneſit of this Vow and reſolution of Chriſtian charitie, which I now make unto thee O Lord.

As I do freely pardon for Chriſt's ſake thoſe that have offended Mee in anie kinde, ſo My hand ſhall never bee againſt anie man to revenge what is paſt, in regard of anie particular injurie don to Mee.

Wee have been mutually puniſhed in our unnatural diviſions; for thy ſake, O Lord, and for the love of My Redeemer, have I purpoſed this in My heart, That I will uſe all means in the waies of amneſtie *and indemnitie, which may moſt fully remoov all fears, and burie all jealouſies in forgetfulneſs.*

Let thy mercies bee toward Mee and Mine, as My reſolutions of Truth and Peace are toward My people.

Hear My praier, O Lord, which goeth not out of feigned lips.

Bleſſed bee God, who hath not turned away My praier; nor taken his mercie from Mee.

O My ſoul, commit thy waie to the Lord, truſt in him, and hee ſhall bring it to paſs.

But if thou wilt not reſtore Mee and Mine, what am I that I ſhould charge thee ſoliſhly?

Thou

Thou O Lord hast given, and thou hast taken, Blessed bee thy Name.

May My People and thy Church bee happie, if not by Mee, yet without Mee.

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26. *Upon the Armies Surprizal of the* KING *at* Holmeby, *and the ensuing distractions in the two Houses, the Armie, and the Citie.*

WHat part God will have Mee now to act or suffer in this new and strange scene of affairs, I am not much solicitous; som little practice will serv that man, who onely seek's to represent a part of honestie and honor.

This surprize of Mee tell's the world, that a KING cannot bee so low, but Hee is considerable; adding weight to that Partie where Hee appear's.

This motion, like other's of the Times, seem's excentrick and irregular, yet not well to bee resisted or quieted: Better swim down such a stream, then in vain to strive against it.

These are but the strugglings of those twins, which lately one womb enclosed; the younger striving to prevail against the elder: what the *Presbyterians* have hunted after, the *Independents* now seek to catch for themselvs.

So impossible is it for lines to bee drawn from the center, and not to divide from each other, so much the wider, by how much they go farther from the point of union,

That the Builders of *Babel* should from division fall to confusion, is no wonder; but for those that pretend to build *Jerusalem*, to divide their tongues and hands, is but an ill *omen*; and sound's too like the furie of those Zealots, whose intestine bitterness and divisions were the greatest occasion of the last fatal destruction of that Cittie.

Well may I change My Keepers and Prison, but not My captive condition; onely with this hope of bettering, that those, who are so much professed Patrons for the People's Liberties, cannot bee utterly against the Libertie of their KING; what they demand for their own Consciences, they cannot in Reason denie to Mine.

In this they seem more ingenuous then the Presbyterian rigor, who, somtimes complaining of exacting their conformitie to Laws, are becom the greatest Exactors of other men's submission to their novel injunctions, before they are stamped with the Autoritie of Laws, which they cannot well have without My consent.

'Tis a great argument, that the Independents think themselvs manumitted from their Rivals

Rival's ſervice, in that they carrie on a buſi-neſs of ſuch conſequence, as the aſſuming My Perſon into the Armie's cuſtodie, with-out anie Commiſſion, but that of their own Will and Power. Such as will thus adventure on a King, muſt not bee thought over-modeſt, or timorous to carrie on anie deſign they have a minde to.

Their next motion menace's, and ſcare's both the two Houſes and the Cittie: which, ſoon after, acting over again that former part of tumultuarie motions, (never queſtioned, puniſhed, or repented of) muſt now ſuffer for both; and ſee their former ſin in the glaſs of the preſent terrors and diſtractions.

No man is ſo blinde as not to ſee herein the hand of divine Juſtice; they, that by Tumults firſt occaſioned the raiſing of Armies, muſt now bee chaſtened by their own Armie for new Tumults.

So hardly can men bee content with one ſin, but add ſin to ſin, till the later puniſh the former; ſuch as were content to ſee Mee and manie Members of both Houſes driv'n away by the firſt unſuppreſſed Tumults, are now forced to flie to an Armie, or defend them-ſelvs againſt them.

But who can unfold the riddle of ſom men's juſtice? The Members of both Houſes who at firſt withdrew (as My ſelf was forced to do)

from the rudeneſs of the Tumults, were counted Deſertors, and outed of their places in Parliament: Such as ſtaied then, and enjoied the benefit of the Tumults, were aſſerted for the onely Parliament-men.

Now the Fliers from, and Forſakers of their Places, carrie the Parliamentarie power along with them; complain highly againſt the Tumults, and vindicate themſelvs by an Armie: Such as remained and kept their ſtations, are looked upon as Abettors of tumultuarie inſolencies, and Betraiers of the freedom and honor of Parliament.

Thus is Power above all Rule, Order, and Law; where men look more to preſent Advantages then their Conſciences, and the unchangeable rules of Juſtice; while they are Judges of others, they are forced to condemn themſelvs.

Now the plea againſt Tumults hold's good; the Autors and Abettors of them are guiltie of prodigious inſolencies; when as before, they were counted as Friends and neceſſarie Aſſiſtants.

I ſee Vengeance purſue's and overtake's (as the Mice and Rats are ſaid to have don a Biſhop in *Germanie*) them that thought to have eſcaped and fortified themſelvs moſt impregnably againſt it, both by their multitude and compliance.

Whom

Whom the Laws cannot, God will punish by their own crimes and hands.

I cannot but obſerve this divine Juſtice, yet with ſorrow and pitie; for, I alwaies wiſhed ſo well to Parliament and Citie, that I was ſorrie to ſee them do, or ſuffer anie thing unworthie ſuch great and conſiderable bodies in this Kingdom.

I was glad to ſee them onely ſcared and humbled, not broken by that ſhaking: I never had ſo ill a thought of thoſe Cities as to deſpair of their Loyaltie to Mee; which miſtakes might eclipſe, but I never believed malice had quite put out.

I praie God the ſtorm bee yet wholly paſſed over them, upon whom I look, as Chriſt did ſomtime over *Jeruſalem*, as objects of My praiers and tears, with compaſſionate grief, fore-ſeeing thoſe ſeverer ſcatterings which will certainly befall ſuch as wantonly refuſe to bee gathered to their dutie: *fatall* blindeneſs frequently attending and puniſhing *willfull*; ſo that men ſhall not bee able at laſt to prevent their ſorrows who would not timely repent of their ſins; nor ſhall they bee ſuffered to enjoie the comforts, who ſecurely neglect the counſels belonging to their peace. They will finde that Brethren in iniquitie are not far from becomming inſolent enemies; there

there beeing nothing harder then to keep ill men long in one minde.

Nor is it possible to gain a fair period for those notions which go rather in a round and circle of phansie, then in a right line of reason tending to the Law, the onely center of publick consistencie; whither I praie God at last bring all sides.

Which will easily bee don, when wee shall fully see how much more happie wee are, to bee subject to the known Laws, then to the various wills of anie men, seem they never so plausible at first.

Vulgar compliance with anie illegal and extravagant waies, like violent motions in nature, soon grow's wearie of it self, and end's in a refractorie sullenness: People's rebound's are oft in their faces, who first put them upon those violent strokes.

For the Armie (which is so far excusable, as they act according to Souldiers principles and interests, demanding Paie and Indemnitie) I think it necessarie, in order to the Publick peace, that they should bee satisfied, as far as is just; no man beeing more prone to consider them then My self: though they have fought against Mee, yet I cannot but so far esteem that valor and gallantrie they have somtime shewed, as to wish I may never want

want ſuch men to maintain My ſelf, My Laws, and My Kingdoms, in ſuch a Peace, as wherein they may enjoie their ſhare and proportion as much as anie men.

But thou, O Lord, who art perfect Unitie in a ſacred Trinitie, in mercie behold thoſe, whome thy Juſtice hath divided.

Deliver Mee from the ſtrivings of My People, and make Mee to ſee how much they need My prairs and pittie, who agree'd to fight againſt Mee, and yet are now readie to fight againſt one another, to the continuance of My Kingdom's diſtractions.

Diſcover to all ſides the waies of Peace, from which they have ſwerved: which conſiſt's not in the divided wills of Parties, but in the joint and due obſervation of the Laws.

Make Mee willing to go whither thou wilt lead Mee by thy providence; and bee thou ever with Mee, that I may ſee thy conſtancie in the world's varietie and changes.

Make Mee even ſuch as thou would'ſt have Mee, that I may at laſt enjoie that ſafetie and tranquillitie which thou alone canſt give Mee.

Divert, I praie thee, O Lord, thy heavie wrath juſtly hanging over thoſe populous Citties, whoſe plentie is prone to add fewel to their luxurie, their wealth to make them wanton, their multitudes tempting them to ſecuritie, and their ſecuritie expoſing them to unexpected miſeries.

Give

Give them eies to see, hearts to consider, wills to embrace, and courage to act those things which belong to thy glorie and the publick peace; lest their calamitie com upon them as an armed man.

Teach them, That they cannot want enemies who abound in sin, nor shall they bee long undisarmed and un-destroied, who, with a high hand persisting to fight against thee and the clear convictions of their own consciences, fight more against themselvs, then ever they did against Mee.

Their sins exposing them to thy Justice, their riches to other's injuries, their number to Tumults, and their Tumults to confusion.

Though they have with much forwardnes helped to destroie Mee, yet let not My fall bee their ruine.

Let Mee not so much consider, either what they have don, or I have suffered, (chiefly at first by them) as to forget to imitate My crucified Redeemer, to plead their ignorance for their pardon, and in My dying extremities to praie to thee, O Father, to forgive them, for they knew not what they did.

The tears they have denied Mee in My saddest condition, give them grace to bestow upon themselvs; who the les they weep for Mee, the more cause they have to weep for themselvs.

O let not My blood bee upon them and their Children,

Children, whom the fraud and faction of ſom, not the malice of all, have excited to crucifie Mee.

But thou, O Lord, canſt, and wilt (as thou didſt My Redeemer) both exalt and perfect Mee by My ſufferings, which have more in them of thy mercie, then of man's cruelſtie, or thy own juſtice.

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27. *To the Prince of* Wales.

SOn! if theſe Papers, with ſom others, wherein I have ſet down the private reflections of My Conſcience, and My moſt impartial thoughts, touching the chief paſſages, which have been moſt remarkable, or diſputed in My late Troubles, com to Your hands, to whom they are chiefly deſign'd; they may bee ſo far uſeful to You, as to ſtate Your judgment aright in what hath paſſed; whereof a pious is the beſt uſe can bee made; And they may alſo give you ſom directions, how to remedie the preſent diſtempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to com.

It is ſom kinde of deceiving and leſſening the injurie of My long reſtraint, when I finde My leaſure and ſolitude have produced ſomthing worthie of My ſelf, and uſeful to You; That neither You, nor anie other, may hereafter meaſure My Cauſ by the Succeſs; nor My Judgment of things by My misfortunes; which I count the greater by far, becauſ they have

have ſo far lighted upon You, and ſom Others, whom I have moſt cauſ to love as well as My ſelf; and of whoſe unmerited ſuffrings I have a greater ſenſ then of Mine own.

But this advantage of wiſdom You have above moſt Princes; that You have begun, and now ſpent ſom years of diſcretion, in the experience of Troubles, and exerciſe of patience, wherein Pietie, and all Virtues, both Moral and Political, are commonly better planted to a thriving, as Trees ſet in winter, then in warmth and ſerenitie of times; or amid'ſt thoſe delights, which uſually attend Prince's Courts in times of Peace and Plentie; which are prone, either to root up all plants of true Virtue and Honor; or to bee contented onely with ſom leavs, and withering formalities of them, without anie real fruits, ſuch as tend to the Publick good; for which Princes ſhould alwaies remember they are born, and by providence deſigned.

The evidence of which different education the Holie Writ afford's us in the contemplation of *David* and *Rehoboam*: The one prepared by manie afflictions for a flouriſhing Kingdom; the other ſoftned by the unparallel'd proſperitie of *Solomon*'s Court; and ſo corrupted to the great diminution, both for Peace, Honor, and Kingdom, by thoſe flatteries, which are as unſeparable from proſperous Princes,

Princes, as Flies are from fruit in Summer; whom adverſitie, like cold weather, drive's away.

I had rather You ſhould bee *Charls le Bon*, then *le Grand*, good, then great; I hope God hath deſigned You to bee both; having ſo early put You into that exerciſe of his Graces and Gifts beſtowed upon You, which may beſt weed out all vitious inclinations, and diſpoſe You to thoſe Princelie indowments, and emploiments, which will moſt gain the love, and intend the welfare of thoſe, over whom God ſhall place You.

With God I would have You begin & end, who is King of Kings; the Sovereign Diſpoſer of the Kingdoms of the World, who pulleth down One, and ſetteth up Another.

The beſt Government, and higheſt Sovereigntie You can attein to, is, to bee ſubject to him; that the Scepter of his Word and Spirit may rule in Your heart.

The true glorie of Princes conſiſt's in advancing God's Glorie in the maintenance of true Religion, and the Churche's Good; Alſo in the diſpenſation of civil Power, with Juſtice and Honor, to the publick Peace.

Pietie will make You proſperous; at leaſt it will keep You from beeing miſerable; nor is hee much a loſer, that loſeth all, yet ſaveth his own ſoul at laſt.

To

To which center of true happineſs, God (I truſt) hath, and will graciouſly direct all theſe black lines of affliction, which hee hath been pleaſed to draw on Mee, and by which hee hath (I hope) drawn Mee nearer to himſelf. You have alreadie taſted of that Cup whereof I have liberally drunk; which I look upon as God's Phyſick, having that in healthfulneſs which it want's in pleaſure.

Above all, I would have You, as I hope You are alreadie, wel-grounded and ſetled in Your Religion: The beſt profeſſion of which I have ever eſteemed that of *the Church of England*, in which You have been educated; yet I would have Your own Judgment and Reaſon now ſeal to that ſacred bond which education hath written; that it may bee judiciouſly Your own Religion, and not other men's cuſtom or tradition which You profeſs.

In this I charge You to perſevere, as comming neareſt to God's Word for Doctrine, and to the Primitive Examples for Government, with ſom little amendment, which I have otherwhere expreſſed, and often offered, though in vain. Your fixation in matters of Religion will not bee more neceſſarie for Your Souls then Your Kingdoms Peace, when God ſhall bring You to them.

For I have obſerved, that the Devil of Rebellion doth commonly turn himſelf into an Angel

Angel of reformation; and the old Serpent can pretend new Lights: When ſom men's Conſciences accuſe them for Sedition and Faction, they ſtop its mouth with the name and noiſ of Religion; when Pietie plead's for peace and patience, they crie out Zeal.

So that, unleſs in this point You bee well ſettled, You ſhall never want temptations to deſtroie You and Yours, under pretenſion of Reforming matters of Religion: for that ſeem's even to the worſt of men, as the beſt and moſt auſpicious beginning of their worſt deſigns.

Where, beſides the Noveltie which is taking enough with the Vulgar, everie one hath an affectation, by ſeeming forward to an outward Reformation of Religion, to bee thought Zealous; hoping to cover thoſe irreligious deformities, whereto they are conſcious, by a ſeveritie of cenſuring other men's opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting anie Factions, or applying to anie publick Diſcriminations in matters of Religion, contrarie to what is in Your Judgment, & the Churche's wel ſettled; Your partial adhering, as Head, to anie one Side, gain's You not ſo great advantages in ſom men's hearts (who are prone to bee of their King's Religion) as it loſeth You in others; who think themſelvs and their pro-

feſſion firſt deſpiſed, then perſecuted by you: Take ſuch a courſ as may either with calmneſs and charitie quite remoov the ſeeming differences and offenſes by impartialitie; or ſo order affairs in point of Power that You ſhall not need to fear or flatter anie Faction. For, if ever you ſtand in need of them, or muſt ſtand to their Courteſie, you are undon: The Serpent will devour the Dove: You may never exſpect leſs of Loyaltie, Juſtice, or Humanitie, then from thoſe, who engage into Religious Rebellion; Their intereſt is alwaies made God's; under the Colors of Pietie, ambitious policies March, nor onely with greateſt ſecuritie, but applauſ, as to the populacie; You may hear from them *Jacob*'s voice, but You ſhall feel they have *Eſau*'s hands.

Nothing ſeemed leſs conſiderable then the Presbyterian Faction in England, for manie years; ſo compliant they were to Publick order: nor indeed was their Partie great either in Church or State, as to men's judgments: But as ſoon as diſcontents drave men into Sidings, as ill humors fall to the diſaffected part, which cauſſe's inflammations, ſo did all, at firſt, who affected anie Novelties, adhere to that Side, as the moſt remarkable and ſpecious note of difference (then) in point of Religion.

All the leſſer Factions at firſt were officious Servants

Servants to Presbyterie, their great Maſter: till time and militarie ſucceſs, diſcovering to each their peculiar advantages, invited them to part ſtakes; and, leaving the joint ſtock of uniform Religion, they pretended each to drive for their Partie the trade of profits and preferments, to the breaking and undoing not onely of the Church and State; but even of Presbyterie it ſelf, which ſeemed and hoped at firſt to have ingroſſed all.

Let nothing ſeem little or deſpicable to You in matters which concern Religion and the Churche's peace, ſo as to neglect a ſpeedie reforming and effectual ſuppreſſing Errors and Schiſms: What ſeem at firſt but as a hard-bredth, by ſeditious Spirits, as by ſtrong windes, are ſoon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

When you have don Juſtice to God, Your own Soul and his Church, in the profeſſion and preſervation both of Truth and Unitie in Religion; the next main hinge on which your proſperitie will depend, and move, is, That of Civil Juſtice, wherein the ſettled Laws of theſe Kingdoms, to which you are rightly Heir, are the moſt excellent Rules you can govern by, which by an admirable temperament give verie much to Subject's induſtrie, libertie, and happineſs; and yet reſerv enough to the Majeſtie and prerogative of anie King, who own's

his People as Subjects, not as Slaves; whose subjection, as it preserv's their Properie Peace, and Safetie, so it will never dim your Rights, nor their ingenuous Li which consist in the enjoiment of of their industrie, and the be Laws to which themselvs have ented.

Never charge your Head with such a Crown, as shall by its heavinesse oppresse the whole bodie, the weaknesse of whose parts cannot return anie thing of strength, honor, or safetie to the Head, but a necessarie debilitation and ruine.

Your Prerogative is best shewed and exercised in remitting, rather then exacting the rigor of the Laws; there beeing nothing worse then Legal Tyrannie.

In these two points, the preservation of established Religion and Laws, I may (without vanitie) turn the reproach of My sufferings, as to the world's censure, into the honor of a kinde of *Martyrdom*, as to the testimonie of My own Conscience; the Troublers of My Kingdoms having nothing elsto object against Mee but this, That I prefer Religion, and Laws established before those Alterations they propounded.

And so indeed I do, and ever shall, till I am convinced by better Arguments, then what bitherto

hitherto have been chiefly uſed towards Mee, Tumults, Armies, and Priſons.

I cannot yet learn that leſſon, nor I hope ever will you, That it is ſafe for a King to gratifie anie Faction with the perturbation of the Laws, in which is wrapt up the Publick Intereſt, and the Good of the Communitie.

How God will deal with Mee, as to the remooval of theſe preſſures and indignities, which his Juſtice, by the verie unjuſt hands of ſom of My Subjects, hath been pleaſed to laie upon Mee, I cannot tell: nor am I much ſolicitous what wrong I ſuffer from Men, while I retein in My ſoul, what I believ is right before GOD.

I have offered all for Reformation and Safetie, that in Reaſon, Honor, and Conſcience I can; reſerving onely what I cannot conſent unto, without an irreparable injurie to My own Soul, the Church, and My People; and You alſo, as the next and undoubted Heir of My Kingdoms.

To which if the divine Providence, to whom no difficulties are inſuperable, ſhall, in his due time, after My deceaſ, bring You, as I hope Hee will, My Counſel & Charge to You is, That You ſeriouſly conſider the former real, or objected miſcarriages, which might occaſion My troubles, that You may avoid them.

Never repoſe ſo much upon anie man's ſingle counſel, fidelitie, and diſcretion, in managing affairs of the firſt magnitude, (that is, matters of Religion and Juſtice) as to create in Your ſelf, or others, a diffidence of Your own judgment, which is likelie to bee alwaies more conſtant and impartial to the intereſts of Your Crown and Kingdom then anie man's.

Next, beware of exaſperating anie Factions by the croſneſs, and aſperitie of ſom men's paſſions, humors, or private opinions, imploied by You, grounded onely upon the differences in leſſer matters, which are but the skirts and ſuburbs of Religion.

Wherein a charitable connivence and Chriſtian toleration often diſſipate's their ſtrength, whom rougher oppoſition fortifie's; and put's the deſpiſed and oppreſſed Partie into ſuch Combinations, as may moſt enable them to get a full revenge on thoſe they count their Perſecutors, who are commonly aſſiſted by that vulgar commiſeration, which attend's all, that are ſaid to ſuffer under the notion of Religion.

Provided, the differences amount not to an inſolent oppoſition of Laws and Government, or Religion eſtabliſhed, as to the eſſentials of them: Such motions and minings are intolerable.

Alwaies

Alwaies keep up Solid Pietie, and thoſe fundamental Truths, which mend both hearts and lives of men, with impartial favor and juſtice.

Take heed that outward circumſtances and formalities of Religion devour not all, or the beſt encouragements of learning, induſtrie, and pietie; but, with an equal eie, and impartial hand, diſtribute favors and rewards to all men, as you finde them for their real goodneſs both in abilities and fidelitie worthie and capable of them.

This will bee ſure to gain You the hearts of the beſt and the moſt too; who, though they bee not good themſelvs, yet are glad to ſee the ſeverer waies of virtue at anie time ſweetned by temporal rewards.

I have, you ſee, conflicted with different & oppoſite Factions; (for ſo I muſt needs call and count all thoſe, that act not in anie conformitie to the Laws eſtabliſhed, in Church and State) no ſooner have they by force ſubdued what they counted their Common Enemie, (that is, all thoſe that adhered to the Laws, and to Mee) and are ſecured from that fear, but they are divided to ſo high a rivalrie, as ſet's them more at defiance againſt each other, then againſt their firſt Antagoniſt.

Time will diſſipate all factions, when once

the rough horns of private men's covetous and ambitious deſigns ſhall diſcover themſelvs; which were at firſt wrap't up and hidden under the ſoft and ſmooth pretenſions of Religion, Reformation, and Libertie: As the Wolf is not leſs cruel, ſo hee will bee more juſtly hated, when hee ſhall appear no better then a Wolf under Sheep's cloathing.

But as for the ſeduced Train of the Vulgar, who in their ſimplicitie follow thoſe diſguiſes, My Charge and Counſel to You is, That, as You need no palliations for anie Deſigns, (as other men) ſo You ſtudie really to exceed (in true and conſtant demonſtrations of Goodneſs, Pietie, and Virtue, towards the People) even all thoſe men, that make the greateſt noiſ and oſtentations of Religion; ſo You ſhall neither fear anie detection, (as they do, who have but the face and mask of goodneſs) nor ſhall You fruſtrate the juſt exſpectations of Your People; who cannot in Reaſon promiſe themſelvs ſo much good from anie Subject's Novelties, as from the virtuous conſtancie of their King.

When theſe mountains of congealed factions ſhall, by the Sun-ſhine of God's mercie, and the ſplendor of Your virtues, bee thawed and diſſipated; and the abuſed Vulgar ſhall have learned, That none are greater Oppreſ-

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But as ſoon as the forked Arrow of Factious Emulations is drawn out, uſe all Princelie Arts and Clemencie to heal the Wounds; that the ſmart of the Cure may not equal the anguiſh of the Hurt.

I have offered Acts of Indemnitie and Oblivion, to ſo great a latitude, as may include all, that can but ſuſpect themſelvs to bee anie waie obnoxious to the Laws; and which might ſerv to exclude all future Jealouſies and inſecurities.

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Bee

Bee confident(as I am)that the moſt of all ſides,who have don amiſs, have don ſo, not out of malice, but miſ-information, or miſ-apprehenſion of things.

None will bee more loyal and faithful to Mee and You, then thoſe Subjects, who ſenſible of their Errors, and our Injuries, will feel in their own Souls moſt vehement motives to repentance; and earneſt deſires to make ſom reparations for their former defects.

As Your qualitie ſet's You beyond anie Duel with anie Subject; ſo the nobleneſs of Your minde muſt raiſ You above the meditating anie revenge, or executing Your anger upon the Manie.

The more conſcious You ſhall bee to Your own merits, upon Your People; the more prone You will bee to exſpect all Love and Loyaltie from them; and to inflict no puniſhment upon them for former miſcarriages: You will have more inward complacencie in pardoning one,then in puniſhing a thouſand.

This I write to you,not deſpairing of God's Mercie,and My Subject's affections towards You; both which,I hope, You will ſtudie to deſerv; yet Wee cannot merit of God,but by his own Mercie.

If God ſhall ſee fit to reſtore Mee, and You after Mee, to thoſe enjoiments, which the Laws

Laws have aſſigned to Us; and no Subjects without an high degree of guilt and ſin can deveſt Us of; then may I have better opportunitie when I ſhall bee ſo happie to ſee You in peace, to let You more fully underſtand the things that belong to God's glorie, Your own honor, and the Kingdom's peace.

But, if You never ſee My face again, and God will have Mee buried in ſuch a barbarous Impriſonment and obſcuritie, (which the perfecting ſom men's deſigns require's) wherein few hearts that love Mee are permitted to exchange a word, or a look with Mee, I do require and entreat You as your Father, and your KING, that You never ſuffer Your heart to receiv the leaſt check againſt, or diſaffection from the true Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*.

I tell You, I have tried it, and after much ſearch, and manie diſputes, have concluded it to bee the beſt in the world; not onely in the Communitie, as Chriſtian, but alſo in the ſpecial notion, as reformed; keeping the middle waie between the pomp of ſuperſtitious Tyrannie, and the meanneſs of fantaſtick Anarchie.

Not but that (the draught beeing excellent as to the main, both for Doctrine and Government, in the Church of *England*) ſom lines, as in verie good figures, may haply need ſom

ſom ſweet'ning, or poliſhing; which might here have eaſily been don by a ſafe and gentle hand; if ſom men's precipitancie had not violently demanded ſuch rude Alterations, as would have quite deſtroied all the Beautie and Proportions of the whole.

The ſcandal of the late Troubles, which ſom may object and urge to You againſt the Proteſtant-Religion eſtabliſhed in *England*, is eaſily Anſwered to them, or Your own thoughts, in this, That ſcarce anie one who hath been a Beginner, or an active Proſecutor of this late War againſt the Church, the Laws, and Mee, either was, or is a true Lover, Embracer, or Practiſer of the Proteſtant-Religion, eſtabliſhed in ENGLAND: which neither give's ſuch Rules, nor ever before ſet ſuch Examples.

'Tis true, ſom heretofore had the boldneſs to preſent threatning Petitions to their Princes and Parliaments, which others of the ſame Faction (but of worſ Spirits) have now put in Execution: but let not counterfeit and diſorderlie Zeal abate Your value and eſteem of true Pietie; both of them are to bee *known by their Fruits*; the ſweetneſs of the Vine and Fig-tree is not to bee deſpiſed, though the Brambles and Thorns ſhould pretend to bear Figs and Grapes, thereby to rule over the Trees.

Nor

Nor would I have You to entertain anie averſation, or diſlike of Parliaments; which, in their right conſtitution with Freedom and Honor, will never injure or diminiſh Your Greatneſs, but will rather bee as interchangeings of Love, Loyaltie, and Confidence, between a Prince, and His People.

Nor would the events of this black Parliament have been other then ſuch (however much biaſſed by Factions in the Elections) if it had been preſerved from the inſolencies of Popular dictates, and tumultuarie impreſſions: The ſad effects of which, will no doubt, make all Parliaments after this more cautious to preſerv that Freedom and Honor, which belong's to ſuch Aſſemblies (when once they have fully ſhaken off this yoke of Vulgar encroachment) ſince the Publick intereſt conſiſt's in the mutual and common good both of Prince and People.

Nothing can bee more happie for all, then, in fair, grave, and Honorable waies, to contribute their Counſels in Common, enacting all things by Publick Conſent, without Tyrannie or Tumults. Wee muſt not ſtarv our ſelvs, becauſ ſom men have ſurfeited of wholſom food.

And if neither I, nor You, bee ever reſtored to Our Right, but God, in his ſevereſt Juſtice, will puniſh My Subjects with continuance in

their

their ſin, and ſuffer them to bee deluded with the proſperitie of their wickedneſs; I hope God will give Mee, and You, that grace, which will teach and enable Us, to want, as well as to wear a Crown; which is not worth taking up, or enjoying, upon ſordid, diſhonorable, and irreligious terms.

Keep You to true principles of pietie, virtue, and honor; You ſhall never want a Kingdom.

A principal point of Your honor will conſiſt in Your deferring all reſpect, love, and protection to Your Mother My Wife, who hath manie waies deſerved well of Mee, and chiefly in this, that (having been a means to bleſs Mee with ſo manie hopeful Children; (all which, with their Mother, I recommend to Your love and care) Shee hath been content with incomparable magnanimitie and patience to ſuffer both for, and with Mee, and You.

My praier to God Almightie is, (whatever becom's of Mee, who am, I thank God, wrap't up and fortified in My own Innocencie, and his Grace) that hee would bee pleaſed to make You an Anchor, or Harbour rather, to theſe toſſed and weather-beaten Kingdoms; a Repairer by Your Wiſdom, Juſtice, Pietie, Valor, of what the follie and wickedneſs of ſom men have ſo far ruined, as to

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leav nothing entire in Church or State; to the Crown, the Nobilitie, the Clergie, or the Commons; either as to Laws, Liberties, Eſtates, Order, Honor, Conſcience, or lives.

When they have deſtroied Mee, (for I know not how far God may permit the malice and crueltie of My Enemies to proceed, and ſuch apprehenſions ſom men's words and actions have alreadie given Mee) as I doubt not but My blood will crie aloud for vengeance to heaven; ſo I beſeech God not to pour out his wrath upon the generalitie of the People, who have either deſerted Mee, or engaged againſt Mee, through the Artifice and hypocriſie of their Leaders, whoſe inward horror will bee their firſt Tormentor; nor will they eſcape Exemplarie judgments.

For thoſe that loved Mee, I praie God they may have no miſs of Mee, when I am gon; ſo much I wiſh and hope, that all good Subjects may bee ſatisfied with the bleſſings of Your preſence and virtues.

For thoſe that repent of anie defects in their Dutie toward Mee, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Chriſtian King; ſo I believ You will finde them truly Zealous, to repaie, with intereſt, that loyaltie and love to You, which was Due to Mee.

In ſum, what good I intended, do You Perform, when God ſhall give You Power much

much good I have offered, more I purpoſed to Church and State, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will ſoon vaniſh, and the Vizards will fall off apace; This Mask of Religion on the face of Rebellion (for ſo it now plainly appear's, ſince My Reſtraint and cruel uſage, that they fought not for Mee, as was pretended) will not long ſerv to hide ſom men's deformities.

Happie times, I hope, attend You, wherein Your Subjects (by their miſeries) will have learned, *That Religion to their God, and Loyaltie to their King, cannot bee parted, without both their ſin and their infelicitie.*

I praie God bleſs you and eſtabliſh Your Kingdoms in righteouſneſs, Your Soul in true Religion, and Your honor in the love of God and Your People.

And if God will have diſloyaltie perfected by My deſtruction, let My memorie ever, with My Name, live in You; as of Your Father, that love's You: and once a KING of three flouriſhing Kingdoms; whom GOD thought fit to honor, not onely with the Scepter and Government of them, but alſo with the Suffering manie indignities and an untimelie Death for them; while I ſtudied to preſerv the Rights of the Church, the power of the Laws, the honor of My Crown,

the

the priviledg of Parliaments, the liberties of My People, and My own Conſcience, which, I thank God, is dearer to Mee then a thouſand Kingdoms.

I know God can, I hope hee yet will reſtore Mee to My Rights. I cannot deſpair either of his Mercie, or of My People's love and pittie.

At worſt, I truſt I ſhall but go before You to a better Kingdom, which God hath prepared for Mee, and Mee for it, through My Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, to whoſe Mercies I commend You and all Mine.

Farewel, till Wee meet, if not on Earth, yet in Heaven.

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28. *Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-Addreſſes, and* HisMAJESTIE's *cloſer impriſonment in* Carisbrook-Caſtle.

AS I have leaſure enough, ſo I have caus more then enough to meditate upon, and prepare for My death: for I know there are but few ſteps between the Priſons and the Graves of Princes.

It is God's indulgence, which give's Mee the ſpace; but Man's crueltie, that give's Mee the ſad occaſions for theſe thoughts.

For, beſides the common burthen of mortalitie, which lie's upon Mee, as a Man; I now bear the heavie load of other men's ambitions,

bitions, fears, jealousies, and cruel passions, whose envie, or enmitie against Mee make's their own lives seem deadlie to them, while I enjoie anie part of Mine.

I thank God, My prosperitie made Mee not wholly a Stranger to the contemplations of mortalitie:

Those are never unseasonable, since this is alwaies uncertain: Death beeing an eclipse, which oft happ'neth as well in clear, as cloudie daies.

But My now long and sharp adversitie hath so reconciled in Mee those natural Antipathies between Life and Death, which are in all men; that, I thank God, the common terrors of it are dispelled; and the special horror of it, as to My particular, much allaied: for, although My death at present may justly bee represented to Mee with all those terrible aggravations, which the policie of cruel and implacable enemies can put upon it, (affairs beeing drawn to the verie dregs of malice) yet, I bless God, I can look upon all those stings, as unpoisonous, though sharp; since My Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or giv'n Mee the Antidote of his Death against them; which, as to the immaturitie, unjustice, shame, scorn, and crueltie of it, exceeded whatever I can fear.

Indeed, I never did finde so much the life of

Religion,

Religion, the feast of a good Conscience, and the brazen wall of a judicious integritie and constancie, as since I came to these closer conflicts with the thoughts of Death.

I am not so old, as to bee wearie of life; nor (I hope) so bad, as to bee either afraid to die, or ashamed to live: true, I am so afflicted, as might make Mee sometime even desire to die, if I did not consider, That it is the greatest glorie of a Christian's life to *die daily*, in conquering, by a livelie faith, and patient hopes of a better life, those partial and quotidian deaths, which kill us (as it were) by peecemeals, and make us over-live our own fates; while Wee are deprived of health, honor, libertie, power, credit, safetie, or estate, and those other comforts of deerest relations, which are as the life of our lives.

Though, as a KING, I think My self to live in nothing temporal so much, as in the love and good-will of My People, for which as I have suffered manie deaths, so I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead: notwithstanding My Enemies have used all the poison of falsitie and violence of hostilitie to destroie, first, the love and Loialtie, which is in My Subjects; and then all that content of life in Mee, which from these I chiefly enjoied.

Indeed, they have left Mee but little of life,

and onely the husk and ſhell (as it were) which their further malice and crueltie can take from Mee; having bereaved Mee of all thoſe worldlie comforts, for which life it ſelf ſeem's deſirable to men.

But, O My Soul! think not that life too long, or tedious, wherein God give's thee anie opportunities, if not to do, yet to ſuffer with ſuch Chriſtian patience and magnanimitie in a good Cauſ, as are the greateſt honor of our lives, and the beſt improovment of our deaths.

I know that, in point of true Chriſtian valor, it argue's puſillanimitie to deſire to die, out of wearineſs of life; and a want of that Heroïck greatneſs of ſpirit which becom's a Chriſtian in the patient and generous ſuſteining thoſe afflictions, which as ſhadows neceſſarily attend us, while we are in this bodie; and which are leſſened or enlarged as the Sun of our proſperitie move's higher, or lower: whoſe total abſence is beſt recompenſed with the Dew of Heaven.

The aſſaults of affliction may bee terrible, like *Sampſon*'s Lion, but they yeeld much ſweetneſs to thoſe that dare to encounter and overcom them; who know how to overlive the witherings of their Gourds without diſcontent or peeviſhneſs, while they may yet converſ with God.

That

That I muſt die as a Man, is certain; that I may die a King, by the hands of My own Subjects, a violent, ſudden, and barbarous death, in the ſtrength of My years, in the mid'ſt of My Kingdoms, My Friends and loving Subjects beeing helpleſs Spectators, My Enemies inſolent Revilers and Triumphers over Mee, living, dying, and dead, is ſo probable in humane reaſon, that God hath taught Mee not to hope otherwiſe, as to man's cruelty; however, I deſpair not of God's infinite Mercie.

I know My Life is the object of the Devil's and wicked men's malice; but yet under God's ſole cuſtodie and diſpoſal: Whom I do not think to flatter for longer life by ſeeming prepared to die; but I humbly deſire to depend upon him, and to ſubmit to his will both in life and death, in what order ſoever he is pleaſed to laie them out to Mee. I confeſs it is not eaſie for Mee to contend with thoſe manie horrors of death, wherewith God ſuffer's Mee to bee tempted; which are equally horrid, either in the ſuddenneſs of a barbarous Aſſaſſination; or in thoſe greater formalities, whereby My Enemies (beeing more ſolemnly cruel) will, it may bee, ſeek to add (as thoſe did who crucified Chriſt) the mockerie of Juſtice, to the crueltie of Malice: That I may bee deſtroied, as with greater

pomp and artifice, ſo with leſs pittie, it will bee but a neceſſarie policie to make My death appear as an Act of Juſtice don by Subjects upon their Sovereign; who know that no Law of God or Man inveſt's them with anie power of Judicature without Mee, much leſs againſt Mee: and who, beeing ſworn and bound by all that is ſacred before God and man to endevour My preſervation, muſt pretend Juſtice to cover their Perjurie.

It is, indeed, a ſad fate for anie man to have his Enemies to bee Accuſers, Parties, and Judges; but moſt deſperate, when this is acted by the inſolence of Subjects againſt their Sovereign: wherein thoſe, who have had the chiefeſt hand, and are moſt guiltie of contriving the publick Troubles, muſt by ſhedding My blood ſeem to waſh their own hands of that innocent blood, whereof they are now moſt evidently guiltie before God and man; and, I believ, in their own conſciences too; while they carried on unreaſonable demands, firſt by Tumults, after by Armies. Nothing make's mean ſpirits more cowardly-cruel in managing their uſurped power againſt their lawful Superiors, then this, the *Guilt of their unjuſt Uſurpation*; notwithſtanding thoſe ſpecious and popular pretenſions of Juſtice againſt Delinquents, applied onely to diſguiſ at firſt the monſtrouſneſs of their deſigns,

ſigns, who deſpaired, indeed, of poſſeſſing the power and profits of the Vineyard, till the Heir, whoſe right it is, bee caſt out and ſlain.

With them My greateſt fault muſt bee, that I would not either deſtroie My ſelf with the Church and State by My Word; or not ſuffer them to do it, unreſiſted by the Sword: whoſe covetous ambition no Conceſſions of Mine could ever yet, either ſatisfie, or abate.

Nor is it likelie they will ever think, that Kingdom of brambles, which ſom men ſeek to erect (at once, weak, ſharp, and fruitleſs, either to God or man) is like to thrive till watered with the Royal blood of thoſe, whoſe right the Kingdom is.

Well, God's will bee don: I doubt not but My Innocencie will finde him both My Protector and My Advocate, who is My onely Judg; whom I own as King of Kings, not onely for the Eminencie of his Power and Majeſtie above them; but alſo for that ſingular Care and Protection, which hee hath over them: who knowe's them to bee expoſed to as manie dangers (beeing the greateſt Patrons of Law, Juſtice, Order, and Religion on Earth) as there bee either Men or Devils, which love confuſion.

Nor will hee ſuffer thoſe men long to proſper in their *Babel*, who build it with the bones, and cement it with the blood of their Kings.

I am confident they will finde Avengers of My death among themselvs: the injuries I have susteined from them shall bee first punisht by them, who agree'd in nothing so much as in opposing Mee.

Their impatience to bear the loud crie of My bloud shall make them think no waie better to expiate it, then by shedding their's, who with them most thirsted after Mine.

The sad confusions, following My destruction, are alreadie presaged and confirmed to Mee by those I have lived to see since My Troubles; in which God alone (who onely could) hath manie waies pleaded My cause; not suffering them to go unpunished, whose confederacie in sin was their onely securitie; who have cause to fear that God will both further divide, and by mutual vengeance, afterward destroie them.

My greatest conquest of Death is from the power and love of Christ, who hath swallow'd up Death in the victorie of his Resurrection, and the glorie of his Ascension.

My next comfort is, that he give's Mee not onely the honor to imitate his example *in suffering for righteousnes-sake*, (though obscured by the foulest charges of Tyrannie and Injustice) but also that charitie, which is the noblest revenge upon, and victorie over My Destroiers: By which, I thank God, I can both

both forgive them, and praie for them, that God would not impute My blood to them further then to convince them, what need they have of Christ's blood to waſh their ſouls from the guilt of ſhedding Mine.

At preſent, the will of My Enemies ſeem's to bee their onely rule, their power the meaſure, and their ſucceſs the Exactor of what they pleaſ to call Juſtice; while they flatter themſelvs with the Fancie of their own ſafetie by My Danger, and the ſecuritie of their lives and deſigns by My Death: forgetting that, as the greateſt temptations to ſin are wrapped up in ſeeming proſperities; ſo the ſevereſt vengeances of God are then moſt accompliſhed, when men are ſuffered to complete their wicked purpoſes.

I bleſs God, I praie not ſo much, that this bitter cup of a violent death may paſs from Mee, as that of his wrath may paſs from all thoſe, whoſe hands, by deſerting Mee, are ſprinkled, or, by acting and conſenting to My death, are embrued with My blood.

The will of God hath confined and concluded Mine; I ſhall have the pleaſure of dying, without anie pleaſure of deſired vengeance.

This, I think, becom's a Chriſtian toward his Enemies; and a King toward his Subjects.

They cannot deprive Mee of more then I am

am content to loſe, when God ſee's fit by their hands to take it from Mee; whoſe Mercie, I believ, will more then infinitely recompenſ what ever by man's injuſtice hee is pleaſed to deprive Mee of.

The glorie attending My death will far ſurpaſs all I could enjoie, or conceiv in life.

I ſhall not want the heavie and envied Crowns of this world, when My God hath mercifully crowned and conſummated his graces with glorie, and exchanged the ſhadows of My earthlie Kingdoms among men, for the ſubſtance of that heavenlie Kingdom with Himſelf.

For the cenſures of the world; I know the ſharp and neceſſarie Tyrannie of My Deſtroiers wil ſufficiently confute the calumnies of Tyrannie againſt Mee; I am perſwaded I am happie in the judicious love of the ableſt and beſt of My Subjects, who do not onely Pittie and Praie for Mee, but would bee content even to Die with Mee, or for Mee.

Theſe know, how to excuſe My failings, as a man; and yet to retein, and paie their dutie to Mee as their King; there beeing no Religious neceſſitie binding anie Subjects, by pretending to puniſh, infinitely to exceed the faults and errors of their Princes; eſpecially there, where more then ſufficient ſatisfaction hath been made to the publick; the enjoiment

of

of which, private ambitions have hitherto fruſtrated.

Others, I believ, of ſofter tempers, and leſs advantaged by My ruine, do alreadie feel ſharp Convictions, and ſom remorſ in their Conſciences; where they cannot but ſee the proportions of their evil dealings againſt Mee in the Meaſure of God's retaliations upon them; who cannot hope long to enjoie their own thumbs and toes, having, under pretenſ of paring other's nails, been ſo cruel as to cut off their chiefeſt ſtrength.

The puniſhment of the more inſolent and obſtinate may bee like that of *Korah* and his complices (at once mutining againſt both Prince and Prieſt) in ſuch a method of divine Juſtice, as is not ordinarie; the earth of the loweſt and meaneſt people op'ning upon them, and ſwallowing them up in a juſt diſdain of their ill-gotten and worſ-uſed Autoritie: upon whoſe ſupport and ſtrength they chiefly depended for their building and eſtabliſhing their deſigns againſt Mee, the Church, and State.

My chiefeſt comfort in death conſiſt's in My Peace, which, I truſt, is made with God; before whoſe exact Tribunal I ſhall not fear to appear, as to the Cauſ ſo long diſputed by the Sword, between Mee and My cauſleſs enemies: where, I doubt not, but, his righteous judgment

judgment will confute their fallacie, who from worldlie ſucceſs (rather like Sophiſters, then ſound Chriſtians) draw thoſe popular concluſions for God's approbation of their actions; whoſe wiſe providence (we know) oft permit's manie events, which his revealed Word (the onely clear, ſafe, and fixed Rule of good actions and good conſciences) in no ſort approve's.

I am confident, the Juſtice of My Cauſ, and clearneſs of My Conſcience before God and toward My People, will carrie Mee, as much above them in God's deciſion, as their ſucceſſes have lifted them above Mee in the Vulgar opinion: who conſider not, that, manie times, thoſe undertakings of men are lifted up to Heaven in the proſperitie and applauſ of the world, whoſe riſe is from Hell, as to the injuriouſneſs & oppreſſion of the deſign. The proſperous windes, which oft fill the ſails of Pirats, do not juſtifie their Piracie and rapine.

I look upon it, with infinite more content and quiet of Soul, to have been worſted in My enforced conteſtation for, and vindication of the Laws of the Land, the Freedom and honor of Parliaments, the Rights of My Crown, the juſt libertie of My Subject's, and the true Chriſtian Religion in its Doctrine, Government and due encouragements, then if I had, with the greateſt advantages of ſucceſs,

ceſs, over-born them all; as ſom men have now evidently don, whatever deſigns they at firſt pretended.

The praiers and patience of My Friends and loving Subjects will contribute much to the ſweetning of this bitter cup, which I doubt not but I ſhal more cheerfully take, and drink as from God's hand (if it muſt bee ſo) then they can give it to Mee, whoſe hands are unjuſtly & barbarouſly lifted up againſt Mee.

And, as to the laſt event, I may ſeem to ow more to My Enemies, then My Friends; while thoſe will put a period to the ſins and ſorrows attending this miſerable life, wherewith theſe deſire I might ſtill contend.

I ſhall bee more then Conqueror through Chriſt enabling Mee; for whom I have hitherto ſuffered, as hee is the Autor of Truth, Order, and Peace; for all which I have been forced to contend, againſt Error, Faction, and Confuſion.

If I muſt ſuffer a violent death, with My Saviour, it is but Mortalitie crowned with Martyrdom: where the debt of death, which I ow for ſin to nature, ſhall bee raiſed as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beſeech him mercifully to accept; And, although death bee the wages of My own ſin, as from God, and the effect of other's ſins, as men, both againſt God and Mee;

Mee; yet, as I hope, My own ſins are ſo remitted, that they ſhall bee no ingredients to imbitter the cup of My death; ſo I deſire God to pardon their ſins, who are moſt guiltie of My deſtruction.

The Trophees of My charitie will bee more glorious and durable over them, then their ill-managed victories over Mee.

Though their ſin bee Proſperous, yet they had need to bee Penitent, that they may bee Pardoned: Both which I praie God they may obtein; that My temporal death, unjuſtly inflicted by them, may not bee revenged by God's juſt inflicting eternal death upon them: for I look upon the temporal deſtruction of the greateſt King, as far leſs deprecable, then the eternal damnation of the meaneſt Subject.

Nor do I wiſh other, then the ſafe bringing of the ſhip to ſhore, when they have caſt Mee over-board; though it bee verie ſtrange, that Mariners can finde no other means to appeaſ the ſtorm themſelvs have raiſed, but by drowning their Pilot.

I thank God, My enemies crueltie cannot prevent My Preparation; whoſe malice in this I ſhall defeat, that they ſhall not have the ſatisfaction to have deſtroied My Soul with My Bodie; of whoſe ſalvation while ſom of them have themſelvs ſeemed, and taught

others

others to Deſpair, they have onely diſcovered this, that they do not much Deſire it.

Whoſe uncharitable and cruel Reſtraints, denying Mee even the aſſiſtance of anie of My Chaplains, hath rather enlarged, then anie waie obſtructed My acceſs to the Throne of Heaven.

Where thou dwelleſt, O King of Kings, who fillest Heaven and Earth, who art the fountain of Eternal life; in whom is no ſhadow of death.

Thou O God art both the juſt Inflicter of death upon us, and the merciful Saviour of us in it, and from it.

Yea, it is better for us to bee dead to our ſelvs, and live in thee, then by living in our ſelvs to bee deprived of thee.

O make the manie bitter Aggravations of My death as a Man, and a King, the opportunities and advantages of thy ſpecial graces and comforts in My Soul, as a Chriſtian.

If thou Lord wilt bee with Mee, I ſhall neither fear, nor feel anie evil, though I walk through the vallie of the ſhadow of death.

To contend with death is the work of a weak and mortal man; to overcom it, is the grace of thee alone, who art the Almightie and Immortal God.

O My Saviour, who knoweſt what it is to die

with

with Mee as a Man; make Mee to know what it is to paſs through death to life with thee My God.

Though I die, yet I know that thou My Redeemer liveſt for ever: though thou ſlaieſt Mee, yet thou haſt encouraged Mee to truſt in thee for eternal life.

O withdraw not thy favor from Mee, which is better then life.

O bee not far from Mee, for I know not how neer a violent and cruel death is to Mee.

As thy Omniſcience, O God, diſcover's, ſo thy Omnipotence can defeat the deſigns of thoſe, who have, or ſhall conſpire My deſtruction.

O ſhew Mee the goodneſs of thy will, through the wickedneſs of their's.

Thou giveſt Mee leav as a man to praie, that this cup may paſs from Mee; but thou haſt taught Mee as a Chriſtian by the example of Chriſt to add, not My will, but thine bee don.

Yea, Lord, let our wills bee one, by wholly reſolving mine into thine: let not the deſire of life in Mee bee ſo great, as that of doing or ſuffering thy will, in either life or death.

As I believe thou haſt forgiv'n all the errors of My life, ſo I hope thou wilt ſave Mee from the terrors of My death.

Make Mee content to leav the world's nothing, that I may com readily to enjoie all in thee, who haſt made Chriſt unto Mee in life, gain; and in death, advantage.

Though

Though My Destroiers forget their Dutie to thee and Mee; yet do not thou, O Lord, forget to bee Merciful to them.

For what profit is there in My blood, or in their gaining My Kingdoms, if they lose their own Souls?

Such as have not onely resisted My just Power, but wholly usurped and turned it against My self, though they may deserv, yet let them not receiv to themselvs damnation.

Thou mad'st thy Son a Saviour to manie that crucified Him, while at once he suffered Violently by them, and yet Willingly for them.

O let the voice of his blood bee heard for My Murtherers, louder then the crie of Mine against them.

Prepare them for thy Mercie by due convictions of their sin; and let them not at once deceiv and damn their own Souls by fallacious pretensions of Justice in destroying Mee, while the conscience of their unjust usurpation of power against Mee chiefly tempt's them to use all extremities against Mee.

O Lord, thou knowest I have found their mercies to Mee as verie falſ, so verie cruel; who, pretending to preserv Mee, have meditated nothing but My ruine.

O deal not with them as blood-thirstie and deceitful men; but overcom their crueltie with thy compassion, and My charitie.

And when thou makeſt inquiſition for My blood, O ſprinkle their polluted, yet penitent, Souls with the blood of thy Son, that thy deſtroying Angel may paſs over them.

Though they think My Kingdoms on earth too little to entertain at-once both them and Mee; yet let the capacious kingdom of thy infinite Mercie at laſt receiv both Mee and My enemies:

When, being reconciled to thee in the blood of the ſame Redeemer, wee ſhall live far above theſe ambitious deſires, which beget ſuch mortal enmities.

When their hands ſhall bee heavieſt, and cruelleſt upon Mee, O let Mee fall into the arms of thy tender and eternal Mercies.

That what is cut off of My life, in this miſerable moment, may bee repaired in thy ever-bleſſed Eternitie.

Lord, let thy ſervant depart in peace, for My eies have ſeen Thy ſalvation.

Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt.

FINIS.

PRAIERS,

Uſed by His

MAJESTIE

In the time of His

Sufferings.

Delivered to Doctor *Juxon* biſhop of LONDON immediately before *His Death.*

Alſo a Letter from the *PRINCE.*

A Praier in time of Captivitie.

O Powerful and Eternal God! to whom nothing is ſo great, that it may reſiſt; or ſo ſmall, that it is contemned; look upon My Miſerie with thine eie of Mercie, and let thine infinite Power vouchſafe to limit out ſom proportion of deliverance unto Mee, as to Thee ſhall ſeem moſt convenient; let not Injurie, O Lord, triumph over Mee; and let My faults by Thy hand bee corrected; and make not My unjuſt enemies the miniſters of thy Ju-

ſtice: But yet My God, if in Thy wiſdom this bee the apteſt chaſtiſement for My unexcuſable tranſgreſſions; if this ingrateful bondage bee fitteſt for My over-high deſires; if the pride of My (not enough humble) heart bee thus to bee broken; O Lord, I yeeld unto Thy will, and cheerfully imbrace what ſorrow Thou wilt have Mee ſuffer: Onely thus much let Mee crave of Thee, (Let My craving, O Lord, bee accepted of, ſince it even proceed's from Thee) that, by Thy goodneſs which is Thy ſelf, Thou wilt ſuffer ſom beam of Thy Majeſtie ſo to ſhine in My minde, that I, who in My greateſt Afflictions acknowledg it My Nobleſt Title to bee Thy Creature, may ſtill depend confidently on Thee. Let Calamitie bee the exerciſe, but not the overthrow of My Virtue. O let not their prevailing power bee to My deſtruction. And if it bee Thy will that they more and more vex Mee with punishment; yet, O Lord, never let their wickedneſs have ſuch a hand, but that I may ſtill carrie a pure minde, and ſtedfaſt reſolution ever to ſerv Thee, without fear or preſumption; yet with that humble Confidence which may beſt pleaſ Thee: ſo that at the laſt I may com to Thy eternal Kingdom through the Merits of Thy Son our alone Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

Another

Another Praier.

ALmightie and moſt merciful Father, look down upon Mee Thy unworthie ſervant, who here proſtrate My ſelf at the Foot-ſtool of Thy Throne of Grace; but look upon Mee, O Father, through the Mediation and in the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt, in whom Thou art onely well-pleaſed; for, of My ſelf I am not worthie to ſtand before Thee, or to ſpeak with My unclean lips to Thee, moſt holie and eternal God! for as in ſin I was conceived and born; ſo likewiſe I have broken all Thy Commandments by My ſinful motions, unclean thoughts, evil words, and wicked works; omitting manie Duties I ought to do, and committing manie Vices which Thou haſt forbidden under pain of Thy heavie Diſpleaſure: as for My ſins, O Lord, they are innumerable; wherefore I ſtand here liable to all the miſeries in this life, and everlaſting Torments in that to com, if Thou ſhould'ſt deal with Mee according to My deſerts. I confeſs, O Lord, that it is Thy Mercie, (which endureth for ever) and Thy Compaſſion (which never fail's) which is the cauſe that I have not been long ago conſumed: but with Thee there is Mercie and plenteous Redemption; in the multitude therefore of

Thy Mercies and by the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt, I intreat Thy Divine Majeſtie, that Thou would'ſt not enter into judgment with Thy ſervant, nor bee extreme to mark what is don amiſs, but bee Thou merciful unto Mee, and waſh away all My ſins with that pretious blood that My Saviour ſhed for Mee. And I beſeech thee, O Lord, not onely to waſh away all My ſins; but alſo to purge My heart by Thy holie Spirit, from the droſs of My natural corruption: and as Thou do'ſt add daies to My life; ſo good Lord, I beſeech Thee, to add repentance to My daies, that when I have paſt this mortal life, I may bee partaker of Thy everlaſting Kingdom, through the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. *Amen.*

A Praier and Confeſſion made in and for the times of Affliction.

ALmightie and moſt merciful Father, as it is onely Thy goodneſs that admit's of Our imperfect Praiers, and the knowledg that Thy mercies are infinite, which can give Us anie hope of Thy accepting or granting them; ſo it is our bounden and neceſſarie Dutie to confeſs our ſins freely unto Thee; and of all men living, I have moſt need, moſt reaſon, ſo to do, no man having been ſo much

much obliged by Thee, no man more grievouſly offending Thee: that degree of knowledg which Thou haſt given Mee, adding likewiſe to the guilt of My tranſgreſſions. For was it through ignorance, that I ſuffered innocent blood to bee ſhed by a falſ pretended waie of Juſtice? or that I permitted a wrong waie of Thy Worſhip, to bee ſet up in *Scotland?* and injured the Biſhops in *England?* O no; but with ſhame and grief I confeſs, that I therein followed the perſwaſions of worldlie wiſdom, forſaking the Dictates of a right-informed Conſcience: Wherefore, O Lord, I have no excuſe to make, no hope left, but in the multitude of Thy Mercies; for I know My repentance weak, and My praiers faultie: Grant therefore, merciful Father, ſo to ſtrengthen My repentance, and amend My praiers, that thou maieſt clear the waie for Thine own Mercies; to which O let Thy Juſtice at laſt give place, putting a ſpeedie end to My deſerved afflictions. In the mean time give Mee Patience to endure, Conſtancie againſt Temptations, and a Diſcerning ſpirit, to chuſe what is beſt for Thy Church and People, which Thou haſt committed to My Charge. Grant this, O moſt merciful Father, for thy Son Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, our onely Saviour. *Amen.*

A Praier in time of imminent Danger.

O Most merciful Father, though My sins are so manie and grievous, that I may rather exspect the effects of Thy anger, then so great a deliverance, as to free Mee from My present great danger; yet, O Lord, since Thy Mercies are over all Thy works, and Thou never failest to reliev all those who with humble and unfained repentance com to Thee for succour, It were to multiplie, not diminish My transgressions, to despair of thy heavenlie favor: wherefore I humbly desire Thy Divine Majestie, that Thou wilt not onely pardon all My sins, but also free Mee out of the hands, and protect Mee from the malice of My cruel Enemies. But if Thy wreth against My hainous Offenses will not otherwaies bee satisfied, then by suffering Mee to fall under My present afflictions, Thy will bee don; yet, with humble Importunitie, I do and shall never leav to implore the assistance of Thy heavenlie Spirit, that My Cause, as I am Thy Vice-gerent, may not suffer through My weakness or want of courage. O Lord, so strengthen and enlighten all the faculties of My Mind, that with clearness I may shew forth Thy Truth, and manfully endure this bloodie Trial; that so My sufferings here may not onely glorifie Thee, but likewise bee a furtherance to My salvation hereafter. Grant this, O merciful Father, for his sake who suffered for Mee, even Jesus Christ the Righteous, *Amen.*

FINIS.

A Copie of a Letter which was ſent from the PRINCE to the KING; Dated from the HAGUE, *Jan.* 23. 1648.

SIR!

HAving no means to com to the knowledg of Your Majeſtie's preſent condition, but ſuch as I receiv from the Prints, or (which is as uncertain) Report, I have ſent this Bearer Seamour *to wait upon Your Majeſtie; and to bring Mee an account of it: that I may withal aſſure Your Majeſtie, I do not onely praie for Your Majeſtie according to my Dutie: but ſhall alwaies bee readie to do all which ſhall bee in My power, to deſerv that bleſſing which I now humbly beg of Your Majeſtie upon*

SIR,

Hague, *Jan.* 23. 1648.

Your MAJESTIE'S *moſt humble and moſt obediem Son and Servant,*

CHARLS.

The Superſcription was thus,

For the King.

Mundaie 29th *Januarie*, 1648.

A true Relation of the KING's *Speech to the Ladie* Eliſabeth, *and the Duke of* Gloceſter, *the daie before His death.*

HIs Children beeing com to meet Him, Hee firſt gave His bleſſing to the Ladie *Eliſabeth*; and bad her remember to tell her Brother *James*, when ever ſhee ſhould ſee him, That it was his Father's laſt deſire, that hee ſhould no more look upon *Charls* as his eldeſt Brother onely, but bee obedient unto him, as his Sovereign; and that they ſhould love one another, and forgive their Father's Enemies. Then ſaid the *King* to her, Sweet-heart, you'l forget this: No (ſaid ſhee) I ſhall never forget it while I live: and pouring forth abundance of tears, promiſed Him to write down the Particulars.

Then the *King* taking the Duke of *Gloceſter* upon His Knee, ſaid, Sweet-heart, Now they will cut off thy Father's Head; (upon which words the Childe looked verie ſtedfaſtly on Him) Mark Childe what I ſaie, They will cut off My Head, and perhaps make thee a King: But mark what I ſaie, You muſt not bee a King, ſo long as your Brothers, *Charls* and *James*, do live; For they will cut off your Brother's Heads (when they can catch them) and cut off thy Head too at the laſt: and therefore I charge you, do not bee made a King by them. At which the Childe ghing, ſaid, I will bee torn in pieces firſt. Which Idling ſo unexpectedly from one ſo young, it made the *King* rejoice exceedingly.

Another

Another Relation from the Ladie Eliſabeth's *own Hand.*

WHat the King ſaid to mee the nine and twentieth of *Jan.* 1648. being the laſt time I had the happineſs to ſee Him; Hee told mee, Hee was glad I was com, & although Hee had not time to ſaie much, yet ſomwhat Hee had to ſaie to mee, which Hee had not to another, or leav in writing; becauſ Hee feared their Cruelkie was ſuch, as that they would not have permitted Him to write to mee. Hee wiſhed mee not to griev and torment my ſelf for Him; for that would bee a glorious death that Hee ſhould die; it beeing for the Laws and Liberties of this Land, & for maintaining the true Proteſtant Religion. Hee bid mee read Biſhop *Andrew*'s Sermons, *Hooker*'s *Eccleſiaſtical Politie*, and Biſhop *Laud*'s Book againſt *Fiſher*, which would ground mee againſt Poperie. Hee told mee, Hee had forgiv'n all His Enemies, and hoped God would forgive them alſo; and commanded Us, and all the reſt of my Brothers & Siſters to forgive them. Hee bid mee tell my Mother, That His thoughts had never ſtraied from Her, and that His Love ſhould bee the ſame to the laſt. Withal, Hee commanded mee and my Brother to bee obedient to Her. And bid mee ſend His Bleſſing to the reſt of my Brothers and Siſters, with Commendation to all His Friends. So after Hee had giv'n mee His Bleſſing, I took my leav.

Further, Hee commanded Us all to forgive thoſe people, but never to truſt them; for they had bern moſt falſ to Him, and to thoſe that gave them power, and Hee feared alſo to their own ſouls: And defired mee not to griev for Him, for Hee ſhould die a *Martyr*, and that Hee doubted not but the Lord would ſettle His Throne upon His Son, and that Wee ſhould bee all happier, then Wee could have exſpected to have been, if Hee had lived: With manie other things, which at preſent I cannot remember. *Eliſabeth.*

Another Relation from the Ladie Eliſabeth.

THe King ſaid to the Duke of *Glocester*, that Hee would ſaie nothing to him but what was for the good of his ſoul: Hee told him, that Hee heard the Armie intended to make him King; but it was a thing not for him to take upon him, if hee regarded the welfare of his Soul; for hee had two Brothers before him; and therefore commanded him upon His Bleſſing, never to accept of it, unleſs it redounded lawfully upon him: And commanded him to fear the Lord, and hee would provide for him.

An Epitaph upon King CHARLS.

So fall's that statelie Cedar, *while it stood,*
That was the onely Glorie of the Wood;
Great CHARLS, *thou earthlie God, Celestial Man,*
Whose life, like other's, though it were a Span:
Yet in that Span was comprehended more
Then Earth hath waters, or the Ocean shore.
Thy heav'nlie Virtues Angels should rehers;
It is a theme too high for humane Vers.
Hee that would know Thee right then, let him look
Upon Thy rare incomparable Book,
And read it or'e and or'e; which if hee do,
Hee'l finde thee King, *&* Priest, *and* Prophet *too;*
And sadly see our loss; and, though in vain,
With fruitless wishes call Thee back again.
Nor shall Oblivion sit upon Thy Hers,
Though there were neither Monument nor Vers.
Thy Suff'rings *&* *Thy* Death *let no man name;*
It was Thy Glorie, *but the Kingdom's* Shame.

J. H.

ΜΑΡΤΥΣ, ὑπὲρ Θείων, Παβικῶν τ' Νόμων, ὄχ' ἄριστος Σκηπτούχων ΚΑΡΟΛΟΣ μ' ἔπιπτεν χερσὶν ἀλιτέων.

FINIS.

Thos. Watkins Esqr. Senr.

July 10th 1824. Broyn Mis